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THE SURVEY

SEPTEMBER 1951— FIFTY CENTS

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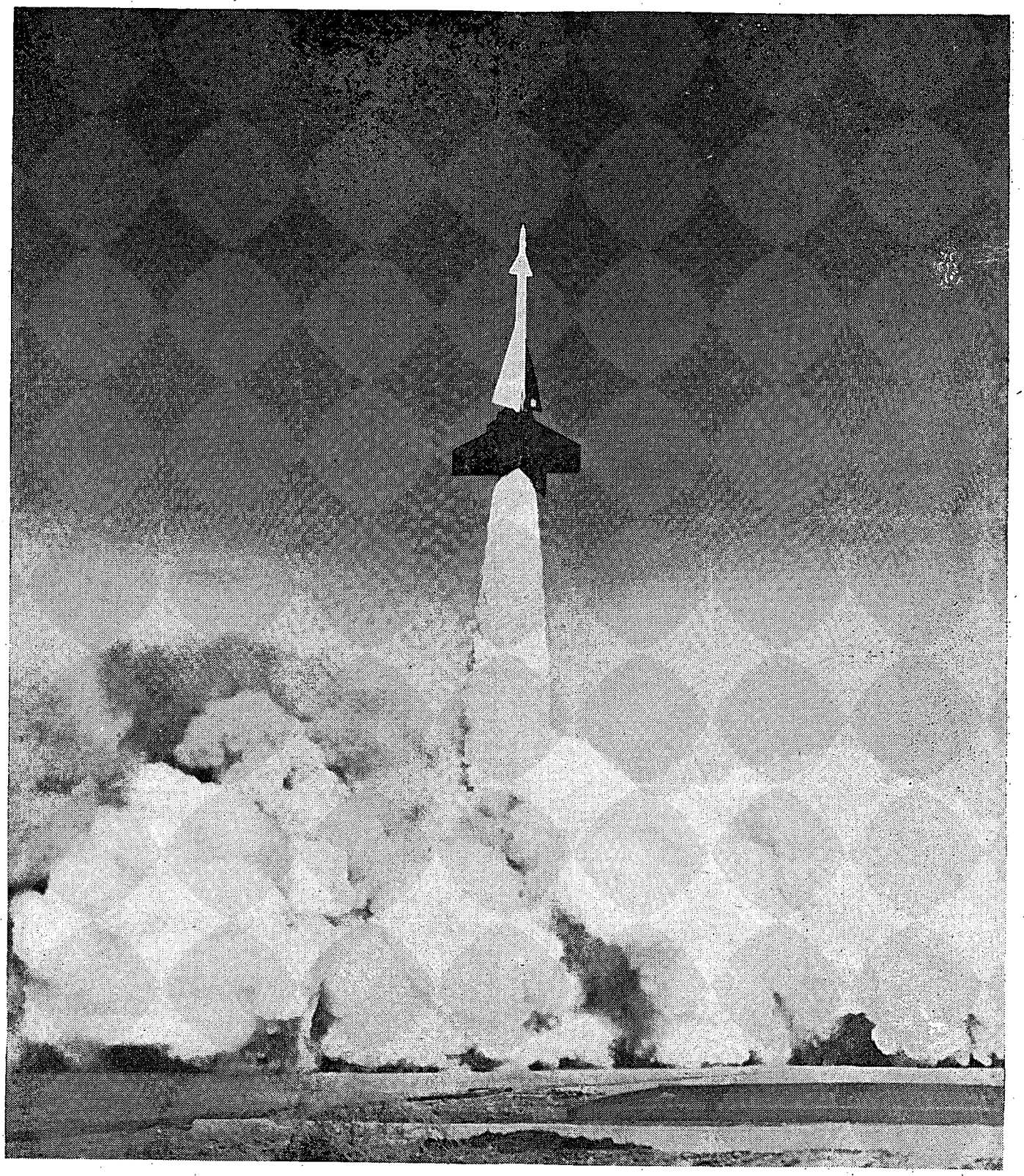

New Guided Missile Takes Off....This newest anti-aircraft missile, soaring upward on its supersonic flight, is launched, steered and exploded by electronic control. These powerful missiles blast high-flying enemy aircraft out of the sky. The control devices were developed by the Bell System's research and manufacturing units—the Bell Telephone Laboratories and Western Electric Company—working together in traditionally close relationship. This guided missile assignment for the Army Ordnance Corps is just one of many important military projects now entrusted to the **Bell Telephone System.**

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Letters from Survey Readers

Social Work Unions

To THE EDITOR: I have just happened across the May issue in which John Fitch had a small item dealing with the ousting of the Joint Committee of Trade Unions in Social Work by the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work.

The reasons given by the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work are so flimsy as to fool no one except those who wish to rationalize or invent. Both the Social Service Employes Union and the United Public Workers have a long history of progress and advance for social workers over the years in the agencies where they have been active. They are now quite unpopular, due not to any change they have themselves made but to a change in the national atmosphere. Have social workers become such automatons that they cannot understand or appreciate independence or militancy in professional unionism?

The action which most exposes the ousting of these two genuine unions is the simultaneous action of the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work in granting special status to a new "union" known as the "Community and Social Agency Emloyees." This outfit, operating almost solely on a program of red-baiting, is known to most social workers in New York who are in any way familiar with trade unions, as a management favored group which will use any and all tactics to destroy unions which have been in the field for the past decade.

It is more than frightening when a professional body ousts the two largest social work unions to install what in many ways approaches a "company union."

The voices of all social workers should be raised to demand the reinstatement of the Joint Committee of Trade Unions in Social Work to the same privileges enjoyed by all other constituent bodies.

New York FRANCIS H. TOUCHET

To THE EDITOR: The Community and Social Agency Employees Union (CSAE) was chartered by the CIO in March 1950 following the expulsion of UOPWA from the CIO.

In its report to the CIO Executive Board, the trial committee declared that in "following the twists and turns, the zigs and zags, of the Communist Party line [the UOPWA] has prevented itself from genuinely representing the interests of the white collar workers of America. It has failed dismally to organize those workers and most of the few that it has organized have been driven away from it as the subservience of the union to the Communist Party became more obvious."

In the year and a half since it was chartered, CSAE has scored many notable gains in the working conditions of its several thousand members who are employed by voluntary, nonprofit community agencies. In addition to winning wage increases, social security coverage, and medical and hospitalization benefits for its members, CSAE has recently won adoption by two major national organizations of a cost-of-living "escalator" clause to protect the wage gains made. This is a significant pioneering advance in our field. The gains which we have made are evidence of the value of unionism—and particularly of democratic and responsible trade unionism—to the professional, clerical, and maintenance employes in our field.

President HELEN RAEBECK
Community and Social Agency Employees Union, CIO

To THE EDITOR: The action of the Executive Committee referred to in Mr. Touchet's letter was, in my opinion fully justifiable on the basis of well known facts. Both the United Office and Professional Workers and its affiliate, the Social Service Employes Union have a long record of activities and an announced philosophy which make them questionable partners of groups dedicated to social work principles. Their leadership has not been above misrepresentation in efforts to gain their ends. Their irresponsibility was indicated by their attacks on the enemies of Hitler before the Russian invasion, and their change, in a day, to ardent support of the allies, after the invasion. The SSEU leadership revealed its attitude toward democratic principles by taking the position that a member of that body could not withdraw from it—when, as a result of the foregoing, members sought to sever their relationship.

Mr. Touchet's affirmations that the SSEU has not changed, and his intemperate attack on the Community and Social Agency Employees—made without specifications—do nothing to raise doubts as to the wisdom of the action taken by the National Conference. JOHN A. FITCH

New York

More About "The Bible and Public Welfare"

To THE EDITOR: As a trained social worker, thirty years in social work, and still longer in church work, I am not satisfied that either you or Dr. Russell J. Clinchy have done too well in your discussion of "The Bible and Public Welfare."

Incidentally, my present social work job includes many efforts to settle disputes between neighbors, and if there is any clear principle for peacemakers, this is it: that in all disputes there is both value and error on both sides.

Now here is point number one for the social worker. He must not take sides. He must not be caught with Dr. Clinchy on one side of the fence and himself on the other. The function of the social worker is to observe and understand social relations from both sides of any relationship.

As a second point for social workers, I should like to stress again that relief is not by itself balanced social work. The value in relief is only "relative." Relief can work much social harm.

Point number three I should like to make with social workers is that the church came first. We arrive at social truth by comparing personal insights and our best text book for this class of truth is still the Bible, whose chief claim for truth rests in the fact that people believe it.

Can we get together?

San Diego, Calif. MERLIN M. PAINE

To THE EDITOR: I wonder why your article, "The Bible and Public Welfare," in the June issue, did not name the real sponsors of the "Foundation for Economic Education." Is it not commonly known that this is one of the many propaganda media with which the National Association of Manufacturers inundates business, schools, women's organizations, and now the clergy? The Foundation is not a "nonprofit educational institution," and its purpose certainly is not "a search for the truth in economics, political science, and related subjects." I know that is what its numerous publications say.

We, the people, are just as surely "taxed" by this expensive propaganda as by our government. The only difference is that the expense of the NAM is imposed under false pretenses and without our knowledge. In my case it is paid much less willingly than the taxes imposed by the government of which I am a part. It is particularly irksome to be forced to pay in prices for the NAM campaign to laud their variety of "free enterprise" and to undermine, in an almost treasonable man-

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Letters

from page 370

ner, our government, especially its "welfare" features (as if the general welfare were not the first concern of government!).

The most charitable interpretation of Dr. Clinchy's part in all this is ignorance. Fortunately the general public is less naive. The "Is Anybody Listening?" article in the September, 1950 issue of Fortune shows what a dim view even many NAM members take of this flood of material. We hope it is a sign of desperation that its sponsors are calling on religion for backing. Dr. Clinchy's repeated references to the "coercive" state indicate that he needs to reread some documents like the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States. It seems to me that the challenge of our founding fathers has been more effective than the oratory of the Dr. Clinchys in producing the "complete response of people of all religious faiths to the real needs of mankind."

Seattle, Washington HELEN A. CAINES

[*Editor's note:* According to "Protestant Piety and the Right Wing," in the May issue of *Social Action,* published by the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches and by the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Churches, the Foundation for Economic Education is supported in the main by donations from "Armour and Company, B. F. Goodrich Company, Chrysler, Consolidated Edison, duPont, General Motors, Marshall Field and Company, U. S. Gypsum, U. S. Steel, and the Volker Fund."]

In Appreciation

TO THE EDITOR: I was very pleased to see in your March issue the letter by Mrs. F. G. Merson. I wish it might inspire your contributors—faithful followers of the Truman line—to use a little of her progressive punch.

As a country dweller, I was also interested in your March article, "Why People Are Moving to Town," by R. L. Neuberger, particularly the last sentence about the rural areas' need for "companionship and cultural advantages." Improvement of cultural advantages may, as the article suggests, bring wider companionship. L. A. ELDRIDGE, JR., M.D.

Rensselaerville, N. Y.

In Regard to Community Surveys

TO THE EDITOR: In the June number of *The Survey* reference is made on page 271 to a paper which I read at the National Conference of Social Work in May.

The statement is inaccurate. It is inaccurate by implication, and the implication is Isabel Kennedy's which the writer partly quotes and partly paraphrases. There is nothing in my paper to indicate that I object to self-surveys. As a matter of fact, I devoted almost two pages to an account of the Cleveland self-survey, saying that it was begun and carried through when there was no crisis and that, considering this fact, I thought it might serve the community well.

The implication in the sentence quoted from Miss Kennedy is that people who conduct surveys do not relate themselves to the people in the community.

In the last five years I have participated in several surveys, and not one of them was conducted according to Miss Kennedy's implications. In preparing my paper I wrote to responsible persons in four communities where I had helped with surveys, and from three I had extensive comments on the surveys. In each case affirmation of the value of the survey was made and reservation about some points was made. I am sure that community surveys for social work have values, just as surveys for turnpikes and slum clearance have values.

It goes without saying that some surveys by outside persons are more useful than others. At no time did Miss Kennedy undertake to state a scientific view of surveys. She was shooting at a target somewhere else. R. CLYDE WHITE

Professor of Public Welfare
Western Reserve University.

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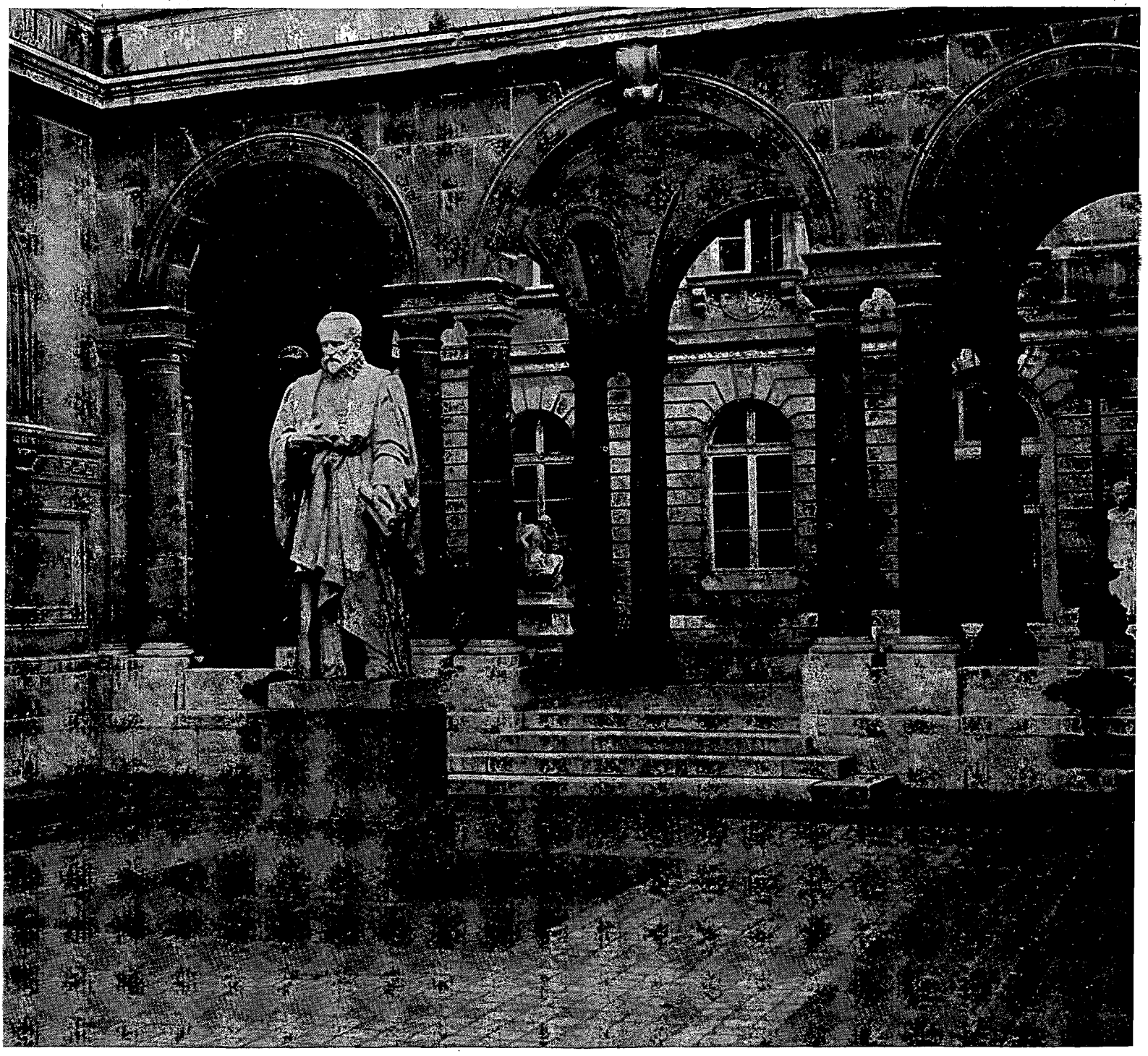

Newman-Schmidt Studios from Frederic Lewis

The thirst for learning knows no boundaries. Since its founding in 1257 the Sorbonne, now part of the University of Paris, has been a magnet for scholars and students from all parts of the world. Many Americans have been part of the international stream of idea seekers who have passed through the hall above

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Good Will Through Education

How the Fulbright program, converting war materials to educational exchange, sends thousands of ambassadors of good will back and forth across the Atlantic.

MARGARET JUST BUTCHER

ONE NOVEMBER MORNING IN 1949, MY TWELVE-YEAR-OLD daughter and I walked out of a small French hotel in Grenoble, and then started off in different directions: she to the bus that would take her to school, I to the University for my first meeting with the dean of the Faculty of Letters. The interview with Dean La Touche proved the most amazing in my fairly long teaching career, for he proceeded to extend me *carte blanche* in the matter of what I should care to lecture upon, and when. Surely, I thought, this is indeed Utopia!

Utopias, however, are conceived in dreams and aspirations and my being in Dean La Touche's office that morning was the result not of a dream, but of a sound and workable plan. True, that plan has an essentially idealistic core, but hard work and practical thinking had launched the Fulbright program, of which I was a representative. When I left the dean's office, I was gravely aware of my responsibility not only as a guest professor but as a pioneer in the largest program of international education ever before sponsored by the United States Department of State.

International education is not new to the United States Government. Since 1938, it has sponsored educational exchange activities in increasing proportions.

The Fulbright program, the most noted of them all, was created by a 1946 amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944. Devised by Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, it provides for setting aside certain foreign credits which would normally accrue to the United States through the sale of surplus properties abroad—left over military equipment and supplies from World War II, of no value to America, but useful for hastening the rehabilitation of the countries holding them. These credits are allowed the United States Government in the appropriate foreign currency to "defray costs of formal education through which citizens of this country could learn about other countries by attending colleges and universities abroad, and citizens of other nations could come here to acquire some knowledge of the life and customs of the United States while receiving education in American institutions."

The Fulbright act authorizes the Secretary of State to effect executive agreements with the several countries. The foreign currencies and credits are negotiable for transportation, tuition, maintenance, and incidental expenses appropriate to the activities of the various recipients. For the foreigner, the benefits are limited to transportation because of his obvious inability to maintain himself within the United States on foreign currency. A ceiling equivalent to $20,000,000 in any one country has been established for these exchanges, and not more than the equivalent of $1,000,000 may be used in a single year. Although programs are functioning in twenty countries and are anticipated in others, the program does not yet operate in all countries where it could.

AMERICANS TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE PLAN FIND FOUR levels at which they may apply. Two demand that the appointee have the Ph.D. degree, which qualifies a person either for a visiting lectureship or a research grant for doing investigation abroad. Two with less rigid qualifications, provide opportunities for graduate students and for elementary and secondary school teachers.

In 1949, eleven American professors, including myself, were sent to France for lecturing in universities designated by the United States Educational Commission for France. I was assigned to the University of Grenoble for the winter session and to the University of Lyons for the spring session. Other American professors that year, including appointees from Columbia, Harvard, and Western Reserve, were sent to such representative French universities as the University of Paris, the University of Bordeaux, and the Institute of Applied Economics at Paris. In the main, we lectured to advanced students. Our offerings were widely divergent. Philosophy, science, art, and medicine were represented that year, and I alone was doing American literature.

The Fulbright professor is accorded full academic courtesies. For example, I shared an office in the Faculty of Letters building with two delightful gentlemen who

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—By a former Fulbright visiting professor at the Universities of Grenoble and Lyons, France, where she taught American literature. Mrs. Butcher is a member of the English faculty at Howard University.

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confessed that they were sincerely happy to have someone "take over" the American literature that winter, but I suspected that they doubted the existence of an American literature beyond Poe! Later, I sat in on oral examinations for several candidates for English "certificates," signed two diplomas, and was on the examining board for French aspirants for Fulbright grants.

I found teaching young French men and women not too different from teaching young Americans—with the dramatic difference that the French students invariably did more than they were advised and eagerly borrowed from the fairly substantial stock of books I had brought. It was not long before the teaching relationship widened to include some informal coffee hours with students and a great deal of talk about matters entirely irrelevant to American literature.

Participation in community affairs was voluntary, and secondary to the prescribed program, but it was possible to make informal talks before small groups, usually teachers. Later, in Lyons, Dijon, Rouen, and Paris I talked with large groups of students, teachers, and once to teen-agers on various aspects of American life. With the help of good friends back home, I was able to stage what my American Embassy friends called "a one woman Negro History week." Pictures, books, charts on the Negro's history in America, and representative Negro periodicals proved a great success.

Thus, the Fulbright professor maintains approximately the same role abroad that he does at home, with one notable exception. He must be fully aware of his responsibility as an intelligent "minister without portfolio." His own personality, his own teaching philosophy, his own social awareness will dictate the extent to which he will come to know the students as individual people, and how much they will see of the substance rather than the shadow of the American Way.

A research worker for 1949-1950 was Donald Wyatt, on leave from Fisk University, who divided his time between the Universities of Paris and Morocco. Professor Wyatt was engaged in gathering material for a book on French Moroccan civilization. He took his family with him, and settled in a small town outside Paris where his wife and daughter could learn French and identify themselves with French community life. Mrs. Wyatt and her daughter became the most popular persons in the neighborhood—primarily because their behavior and interests were pleasantly contradictory to the French provincial's preconceived ideas of Americans. For the Wyatt family, the experience was not only invaluable, but one which they could not normally have enjoyed on the professor's university salary. For the community, the presence of the family was superior to any number of books they might have read about acceptable Americans.

STUDENTS FORM THE LARGEST GROUP OF FULBRIGHT REPRESENTATIVES in each country, have the widest range of interests, and probably become the most acclimated. Studying art, music, philosophy, languages, anthropology, acting, methods of theater production, and other subjects, they learn to substitute fluent, colloquial speech for stiff, pedantic German, French, or Italian.

A quartet of drama students I knew in England were all men who had advanced degrees, had either taught on a college level or been in professional theater, and were on "Fulbrights" to study repertory theater methods. Assigned to the Central School of Speech and Drama, the men took no classes but rather received field assignments from the school. Each was routed, for periods ranging from one to three weeks, to a repertory theater center, armed with letters of introduction and primed with information as to housing so that they could get settled with a minimum of time. Each visited at least ten "rep" companies, talked with managers, actors, technicians, and came to have first hand acquaintance with the hard working English professional theater workers. In addition to visiting the provincial companies, they went to countless London West End productions. One of the men, Jim Butcher, met Ivor Brown, the drama critic, who not only entertained him at the Garrick Club but provided him with letters of introduction to G. B. Shaw, Lord Dunsany, and Sir Kenneth Barnes, director of The Royal Academy. Another, John Vaughn, had brought his energetic young wife with him, and together they toured Scotland, Ireland, and the continent, visiting theaters all the way. All the students spent time at Stratford, saw each play several times, visited the technical workshops, and met and talked with members of the company.

On the teaching level there were American elementary and secondary school teachers from Wales to Greece, in schools ranging in size and type from the Pontymoile Infants' School at Pontypool, Monmouthshire, England, where Eleanor Mintrum of Pittsford, New York, taught, to the National Training School of the YWCA at Athens, Greece, where Effie Vranow of Worcester, Massachusetts, held classes. I came to know Gladys Churchill of Orange, Massachusetts, who was at a girls' *lycée* in Rouen, France. Brisk and frank, Gladys was doing a good job with her teaching and was full of ideas to take home to her own school. She lived with a friendly French family, worked with an English exchange teacher, and planned to travel some before starting home.

Fulbright appointees on all levels receive ample enough stipends to make travel and comfortable living convenient and possible. For lecturers and research workers the grants are scaled to the recipient's home salary. Thus, he does not lose any income. To the basic salary are added funds for transportation to and from the host country, travel, secretarial service, and books. Grants for other levels are the same with the exception of the type of transportation (which ranges from first to tourist class) and the omission of certain special allotments. But in no instance is it impossible for the recipient to travel widely—both in and out of the host country. Although the currency of the host country may not be taken away, a Fulbright participant has the privilege of buying a ticket to whatever country his passport entitles him entry. Thus, I was free to buy a ticket to Oberamergau, Germany, with French francs; but once over the French frontier, I had to depend on my own dollar supply.

The process of screening thousands of applications for the various assignments is lengthy and complex. Three American agencies aid the Secretary of State in the administration of the Fulbright act: the Institute of Inter-

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national Education, the United States Office of Education, and the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils. The direction of the program, executive decisions, and the details of administration are sponsored by three areas: the Division of Exchange of Persons within the State Department, the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and the various United States Educational Foundations and Commissions abroad.

The Division of Exchange of Persons has the job of initiating agreements with United States Educational Foundations and Commissions in these countries, of furnishing staff services for the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and of providing a liaison with the three cooperating agencies and with the overseas United States Educational Foundations and Commissions. The Board selects individuals and names educational institutions suitable for participation in the program. It is responsible for: reviewing policies for the educational programs under the act; reviewing the types of programs and projects to be undertaken; selecting institutions to be approved for participation; and selecting all candidates, American and foreign. Educational Foundations and Commissions are set up in each participating country primarily for the purpose of recommending programs, foreign institutions, and candidates. They carry out the exchange program as it is outlined and handle and allot funds.

The Commissions also take care of personal problems and emergencies. They try to arrange or suggest housing, make any adjustments in programs or stipends that unanticipated circumstances demand, and handle other special requests. A student becomes ill: the commission advises hospitalization. A research worker's wife becomes pregnant: different housing arrangements are in order. A teacher meets administrative problems: tactful suggestions are made. Staffed by both American and foreign officers, they do a good job.

To date, 1,907 Americans have been awarded Fulbright grants to engage in educational activities abroad. Nearly 2,000 nationals of foreign countries have visited the United States under the program. Six hundred forty-six foreign students have received scholarships for American schools in their home countries. More than 3,000 persons will receive benefits under the program this year and as additional countries participate there will be a proportionate increase in Fulbright grantees. Although all these persons have participated in order to enhance their intellectual or professional growth, they have been aware of the equal importance of their first hand experience with foreign lands and people.

SENATOR FULBRIGHT HIMSELF HAS SAID THAT HE REGARDS the advancement of science or the promotion of scholarships as "by-products rather than ends of the program." He has emphasized it as a program "whose aim should be to give the maximum numbers of young people the experience of living and studying in a foreign country so that they may broaden their horizons, develop an understanding and appreciation of the cultures, characteristics, and problems of other peoples, and eventually bring the knowledge and understanding derived from this experience into play in the public and educational life of their own country."

Two of the soundest human values are those implicit in the shedding of prejudices and the correction of misconceptions. The misconceptions of America and American life in the minds of our allies as well as of our enemies create a problem far more serious than most of us realize. At a recent University of Chicago Round Table, Professor Walter Johnson observed that this is "a crucial block in our way of winning the peace." For years, Hollywood was to many foreign observers the accepted index of American society and culture. This in itself with the general implications of a social life predicated on cocktails and emotional escapades, of marital discord, of gangsterism, and of juvenile delinquency was damaging enough, but today there is the added onus of the deliberately conceived and projected enemy propaganda that distorts the truth of American life.

LIVING IN CLOSE COMMUNITY CONTACT FOR A YEAR, FULbright representatives can do a great deal to offset these unsavory misrepresentations. The lecturer, student, research worker or teacher will in all probability be not too different from those of like status in the community. If the visiting Americans are sufficiently articulate they will interpret to the hosts the fundamental truths of our culture with intelligence and integrity. This does not mean that they are expected to be self-conscious chauvinists. On the contrary, their obvious freedom to discuss and analyze the problems of contemporary America in itself provides a tally in favor of the democratic pattern. Their ability to convince the courteous but curious hosts that we Americans are not all materialistic in aspiration, nor all exclusively preoccupied with technological progress, nor all slaves of passive entertainment media such as television, nor all either neurotics or alcoholics is an important part of their job.

The American Fulbright scholar has ample opportunity to correct *his* misconceptions of foreign life and culture. Unlike the hurried tourist he is able to acquire a real understanding and appreciation of the host country. He learns, for example, that the English "stolidity" which he may either have misunderstood or joked about in the past is one obvious explanation of the amazing resistance that the English put up against both grueling attack during the war and in the subsequent severe adjustment to food and clothing limitations. He learns that French life is not gay in the sense that popular tradition implies; but is gay in the sense that the French, who live seriously, know how to relax and derive pleasure from very simple means—an hour in the park, or in a café, or in good talk among friends unhurried by any sense of "loafing." He learns that the average Frenchman is conservative and puts a high premium on family life and tradition. He sees in Italy the tragedy of a poverty whose equal he never has seen in America, and he realizes that political and social violence are the products of poverty and the fear that inevitably accompanies it.

American Negro Fulbright scholars have the added experience of noting enconomic and social problems comparable to those with which we cope at home. Honesty compels us to note that our domestic problems are subject to adjustment through the accepted American channels of reform—education, suffrage, legislation. In the political chaos of southern Europe no such social evolution offers hope at the moment.

In his essay "The Fulbright Act: An Opportunity and a Challenge," Dr. Frank Colligan, chief, Division of Ex-

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change of Persons, Department of State, has included excerpts from two letters written by two Fulbright grantees. Said one, from a twenty-one-year-old American:

> There is no better antidote to the European conception of Americans than a normal decent American. There is nothing more damaging to Russian propaganda about America than a normal American ready and competent to fairly analyze and answer it. . . . I have found that frank, honest discussions on the pros and cons of American life have had no little effect. . . . You can explain Marshall Aid, how it doesn't consist of Coca-Cola, how it comes out of Americans' pockets and is an act of good will rather than imperialism. . . . It is also impressive to these people when you point out that the United States thinks enough of the cultures of foreign nations to send students abroad to study, and is sufficiently proud of its own institutions to allow foreign students to study in the United States in obvious contrast to Russia. These facts tend to make Russophiles, who have never seen a Russian face-to-face, think. Intelligent discussion, not phrase-throwing, seems most effective.

And the other from a French student at the University of Maine:

> Before coming to the United States, I thought that this country was a very new country without literature, without history, without any background. Well, I have changed my mind. The American people have a literature, and I enjoyed learning it. . . . I think the principal value of my stay in the United States of America is the opportunity of meeting people and understanding them. . . . Another value is to make our country better known and correct mistakes and ideas the American may have about it. And at last to bring back home what we gained in our knowledge of the USA and to try on the other side of the ocean to explain with proofs in hand what we know about the USA to our countrymen.

What has been the public response to the Fulbright program? Obviously, in the United States it has been good, when one notes that more than 12,000 applicants filed last year for 1,000 opportunities. In the other participating countries a similar response has been reported. No country to which an agreement has been offered has refused it. Many universities, already overcrowded, have managed to adjust their facilities to provide for students and research workers, and have been willing to set up language refresher courses for them. Community response has been excellent, as a news comment suggests: "War leaves many unwelcome legacies, but some of its after-effects can be valuable to peace . . . the fact that American dollars, changed into pounds by American sacrifice sales in New Zealand, are to be spent, as pounds, to the full extent that New Zealand policy will permit, and in support of a wider education and atmosphere for New Zealanders, is another piece of evidence that the Americans desire to use dollar power to help the outside world. . . ." Participating countries look forward to increased dollar aid in the form of scholarships and lectureships in American educational institutions to make it possible for more foreign students to come to the United States.

Adverse critics of the program emphasize the lack of exact reciprocity and insist that Americans do not sincerely want a balanced exchange program. Communists in France have charged that "a great number of the Americans . . . would be simply agents, present or future, of the American intelligence service." Similarly a Norwegian Communist refers to the program as "grand style information activities . . . paid with money from the people's pockets." Here is a challenge to all who believe in the sincerity, real intellectual and humanitarian worth, and honesty of the program.

The United States also risks being accused of cultural imperialism. Professor Perry Miller, a former Fulbright lecturer, has said that we must acknowledge the risk, although the character of the administrative agencies as well as that of administrative policy is apt to reduce it to a minimum. It is bound to be outweighed by the increasing confidence in our motives and in our international good will and understanding that successive years of the plan's operations will bring. The program is an honest and "above board" means to resolve problems of economy as well as those of education for understanding. It does not resort to violence, invective, or to crudely distorted fact to win immediate ends, but takes a long view, counting on the power of a gradually increased but deep seated understanding of the ideas and practices of democracy.

By no means perfect, the program holds infinite possibility for improvement. Important as research is, its very nature keeps the researcher away from a community in the austerity and remoteness of library or museum. Therefore, there should be a comparatively greater proportion of lecturers and teachers in the program. There should certainly be more persons who are experts in American thought, American history, American literature, and American culture sent overseas to respond to a deep curiosity abroad about the growth of American civilization and culture. There should be, reciprocally, more intense emphasis on the same courses here in the States to be taken by American students as well as by visiting foreigners.

The Fulbright program should be familiar to every American citizen. Its implications for international understanding and good will must be known to all to whom the perpetuation of democracy is important and meaningful—in short, to every American citizen. Hence, newspapers, magazines, radio and television programs, and public lecture series should be concerned regularly with the program's activities, participants, and results. Schools and colleges should be constantly on the alert for likely candidates among students, teachers, and specialists. Deliberate effort must be made to bring young Americans to a more explicit consciousness of what democracy does, can, and must mean, so that they can do their part in familiarizing foreign students with our pattern of life and its underlying thought.

The Fulbright program emerged from a concrete situation created by the materials of war, but it was conceived of the ideal of international understanding and harmony. "Ideal" is a word dear to the American democratic dream. In spite of war, disillusionment, and social error, it has persisted. Now that there is a universally growing conviction that not institutions and governments but minds and hearts must be transformed, we can perhaps envision a future in which the dream is an assured, tranquil reality. Whatever programs are adopted to effect the transformation will need the continued support of educational exchange if they are to be of any lasting value.

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Slavery Throughout the World

A survey of the human bondage which is degrading human beings in every major continent of the world today.

ALBERT KONRAD HERLING

MOST AMERICANS THINK OF SLAVERY AS A THING OF THE past, settled once and for all by our own Civil War. We were shocked by the forced labor of Hitler's day as we are by current charges of similar practices behind the "iron curtain," but few of us realize that slavery, in various forms, is actually a worldwide problem bringing misery to human beings not only in far off places, but also right on our own doorstep. Yet numerous documents and personal testimony available today reveal the stark fact that no major continent is entirely free from the barbarous practice of human bondage.

Here in the United States bondage exists in the form of illegal peonage, or debt slavery. The Workers Defense League has found it in diminishing measure among the sharecroppers of the Deep South, where, in the words of Rowland Watts, the organization's national secretary, "the tenant-cropper discovers at the end of the season that he is allegedly in debt for seed, fertilizer, and other 'furnish' to the plantation owner and is led to believe that he must remain on the plantation for another season to work off the debt."

It also is practiced, according to Mr. Watts, in the lumber and turpentine areas of Florida and Georgia, and "with variations" in the truck farms and beet sugar fields. The debt may be real or imagined, but in either case peonage is a violation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution which declares that: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Peonage comes about in many guises, one of the ugliest being the official practice of making arrests for alleged "vagrancy." In 1944, more than twenty Negroes, mostly longshoremen, were arrested in Broward County, Florida, on their day off, charged with vagrancy and forced to work off fines in the bean fields. After failure of federal prosecution against the sheriff, civil suit was instituted by the Workers Defense League, and, in 1948, damages were recovered in a settlement out of court.

In some of the turpentine areas in the South, notably Northern Florida and Southern Georgia, company towns, once common in the coal fields, provide another form of peonage. Enticed by a promise of payment which is fairly attractive, whole families as well as individuals move into settlements set up by the owners of the turpentine still or timber, where a pattern of accumulating debt and physical intimidation is enacted.

The recent exposure of the sordid conditions among the Mexican "wetbacks," intimidated by threats of imprisonment and deportation, rounds out the picture of illegal peonage in the United States. While an incident of chattel slavery occasionally comes to light, such as the Ingalls case in California in 1947, the public outrage it engenders is evidence of the virtual disappearance in this country of that most degrading form of human bondage.

Difficulties of arranging a census of anything of an illegal and bootleg nature are apparent. They make it almost impossible to arrive at any clear picture of the prevalence of debt slavery in this country. Persons who have studied the problem, however, estimate the number of families held in peonage at not more than 20,000.

INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE CAN BE FOUND EVEN MORE EXtensively among our neighbors to the South. In Latin America the forms vary with the country. Even where systems are similar, differences in terminology are jealously insisted upon. Space prohibits the presentation here of a really comprehensive picture of what is going on in the southern continent, but a few close-ups will provide examples of how whole families are held in bondage even though the laws of every South American country expressly prohibit slavery.

Most of the systems in effect in South America are a combination of debt slavery and serfdom. There is no doubt that we owe these systems, although in somewhat altered form, to the feudalism of Spanish conquerors imposed on the cultures which they found. In Peru, *yanacones* are employed in groups to work on estates, particularly sugar, cotton, and rice plantations. The groups and the individuals within it are under contract to the plantation owner. According to a study submitted by Professor Moises Pobleto Troncoso to the Ad Hoc Committee on Slavery of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, this extraordinary contract imposes "a unilateral obligation upon the Indian, and carries an additional burden involving the family of the *yanacon* and his *descendents*, for the women and sons are also obliged to work for the proprietor." Neither the amount of the wage nor the duration of the contract is fixed. Many of these contracts have been handed on from father to son, Professor Troncoso reports.

Another form of servitude in Peru is called *pongueaje*. It is an obligation imposed upon the Peruvian Indian to work for a landowner without pay for as much as five

—By the director of research for the Commission of Inquiry Into Forced Labor, and assistant national secretary of the Workers Defense League. Mr. Herling is also author of the recently published book "Soviet Slave Empire."

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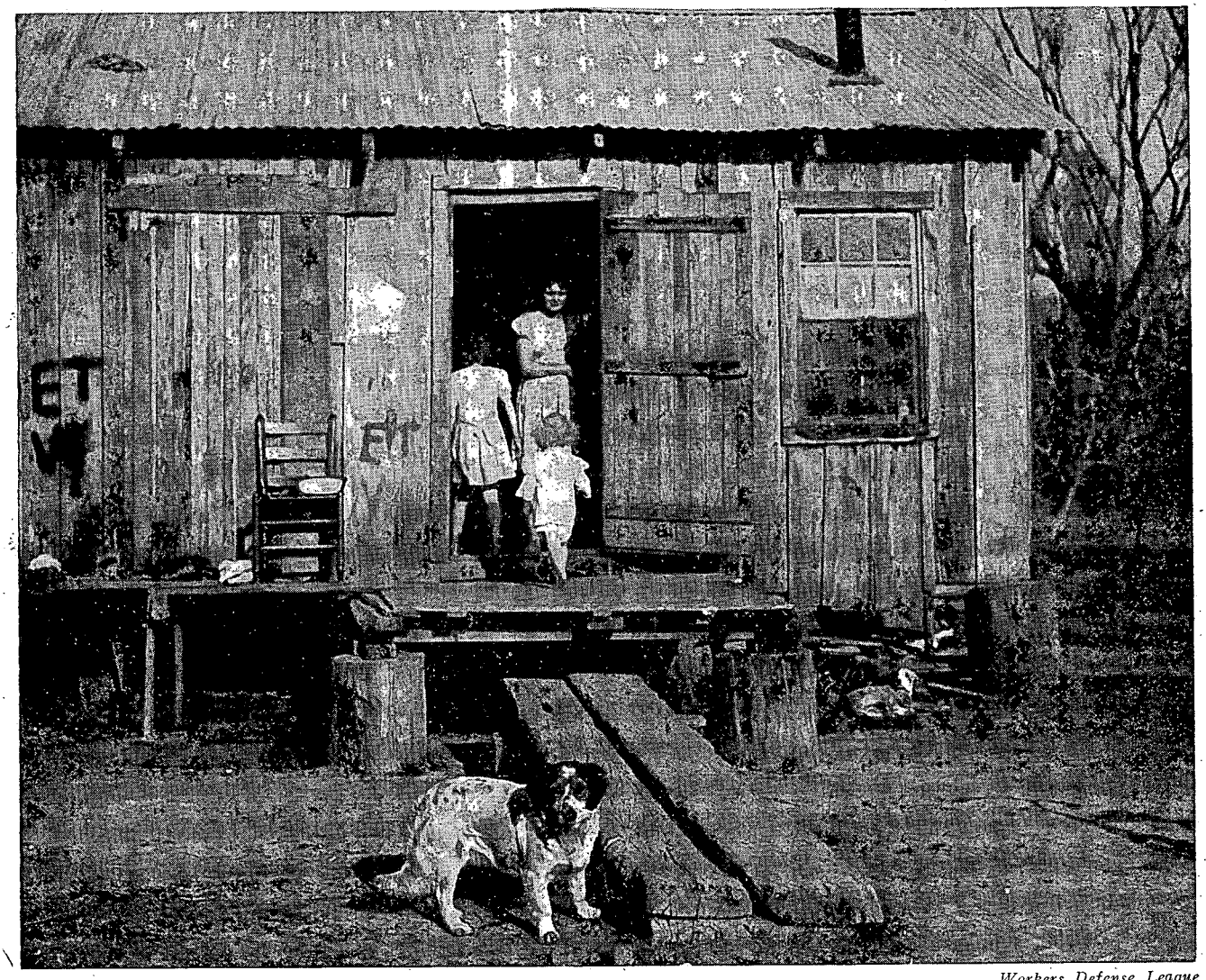

Workers Defense League

Many sharecroppers in our own country live in virtual peonage season after season as they work off alleged or real debts incurred to their landlords

days a week, in return for a small plot of land which he holds for his labor and can cultivate in his very sparse, spare time. As the relationship between the Indian and the plantation owner is passed on to his children, the opportunity to break away from this inherited state of servitude is almost impossible. Other forms of slavery are also practiced today in Peru.

In Bolivia recent official moves have attempted to do away with certain types of compulsory servitude, but at the same time have more firmly entrenched others. The story is told in the UN study through quotations from an essay by Professor Miguel Bonifaz entitled *The Native Agrarian Problem in Bolivia during the Republican Period*. Said Professor Bonifaz: "In May 1945 two important decrees relating to native labor were issued. . . . With one stroke of the pen they suppressed the personal and household services of 'cacha' or 'apiri' (courier or messenger service), and the 'isolero,' 'aljiri,' 'hilado' (spinning), 'tejido' (weaving), 'mukeo' (preparation of material for *chicha*), and 'lavado' (laundry services) which were, and still are rendered without pay, and ordered that fair rates of remuneration should be paid. In the other decree it was also emphatically stated that 'slavery does not exist in Bolivia,' and that consequently 'the services of *pongueaje* and *mitanaje* are abolished.'"

"At first sight," Professor Bonifaz continues, "any stranger might think that these measures abolish the feudal serfdom that weighs upon the Indians . . . but . . . subsequent articles establish that the transportation of produce from the estates or farms in general to the towns, secondary towns or shipping stations shall be effected compulsorily by the tenant farmers under a previous agreement as to remuneration and that if necessary, the nearest government authorities shall intervene. . . . Farewell the free consent of the contracting parties. The tenant farmers must compulsorily transport the produce of the landlord and the use of armed force is allowed to secure compliance."

In 1943 a Joint Bolivian-United States Commission reported a widespread usage of a farm tenancy on Bolivian *haciendas* that was "little short of feudal serfdom."

The condition persists. A recent report of the International Labor Organization describes the most common system: "The estate owner gives him (the native *aparcero*) the usufruct of a parcel of land, the payment for which consists in: (a) part of the harvest handed over direct and the rest sold to the owner at the price he fixes and . . . (b) a specified number of days of work in the field, to which is sometimes added the payment of tithe or the compulsory performance of unpaid personal

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or domestic services in the landowner's house or on his estate."

The description concerned Bolivia, but with slight variations, it applies to a number of other South American countries.

The continent of Africa, covering some 11,500,000 square miles with a population of over 163,000,000 people, throughout history has been subjected to every conceivable type of exploitation, both of its land and its people. And for Africa the days of exploitation are far from past.

Nevertheless, every country in Africa has abolished slavery legally, with the possible exception of Spanish Morocco. Ethiopia was the last to do so. Slavery as an institution, however, continues. Any institution so long accepted does not cease to exist by virtue of a declaration from an emperor or other official authority. Actually, a slave trade between Africa and certain countries of the Middle East is still being carried on, with native Africans being sent to the slave markets which are still operating in Yemen and Saudi Arabia and other small nations of the Middle East. As recently as last May the Associated Press reported an eye-witness account of a slave market in action in one of the British protectorates.

However, as a result of international action and a genuine opposition to slavery by the colonial powers, the slave trade between Africa and the Middle East is illegal and extremely risky for those who undertake capture and delivery of their human cargo. Except in Ethiopia the amount of chattel slavery existing in Africa compared to thirty, fifty, or one hundred years ago, is today almost nil.

But other systems of human bondage flourish. In Liberia, for instance, a common practice of pawning relatives has recently been exposed and publicized. There a person applying for a loan may pledge a relative and his labor to the lender and the resulting degradations are little different from those of old fashioned slavery. Liberia may have its own novel system but it is not the only African offender against human dignity. Forced, or compulsory labor exists in most, if not all, of the colonial areas and even in the UN trusteeship areas.

As in Latin America, the forms of compulsion and servitude practiced in Africa are traceable to cultural inheritances and tribal customs adopted by white conquerors. Though the white man has often been willing to impose his interpretation of western culture upon the indigenous populations, he has too frequently been reluctant to "impose" ideas and traditions of freedom on those he has conquered.

At one time Belgium was considered the great offender against human decency in Africa. Memories of Leopoldville in the latter part of the nineteenth century are still strong. To many the Belgian Congo has long stood for the extremity of white man's depravity in dealing with the native African. The stories die hard, though the Belgian government has been making real efforts toward improvement.

Portuguese Angola is not so well known. Here, according to reports of recent date the status of the native population today can be compared to the Belgian Congo of 1895. Even skilled workmen, such as carpenters, have been forced to work for years without any remuneration. Names of informants must be withheld because the retribution of Portuguese authorities against critics is swift. There is a grim history of revenge against the native population following every critical report. On the other hand, Britain, France, and Belgium can be proud of the progress they have made in Africa. Current efforts at the formation of trade unions and the development of self-rule in many colonial areas indicate that a new era is dawning for Africa, though the progress may be regarded by many persons as too slow.

But the statement does not hold true for the Union of South Africa. There, the "white man's burden" is carried with a vengeance. The racial policies of the old Boers are today being carried to extremes comparable only to policies which prevailed in Germany under Hitler. In fact, the party of Daniel Malan, now in power, has publicly announced its preference for Hitler's policies, and during the Second World War openly supported Nazism.

There is in South Africa, however, no deliberate effort, as there was in Germany, toward extermination of a race, for if there were this would be like cutting off the nose

African National Congress

In the Union of South Africa, convicts are transported from prison to farm to harvest the white man's crops

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to spite the face. The Bantu worker is the chief source of labor supply and to eliminate him would ruin the country.

The South African policy of "apartheid" or "separateness" not only protects the whites from racial "contamination," but guarantees that the economic status of the black worker will remain as low as is consistent with national safety. The agricultural areas are full of prisons for natives constructed or financed by the white farmers. At harvest time the prisoners are shipped to the various farms in order to reap the harvest. Upon completion of their task they are sent back to prison.

It would be impossible in a work short of book length to go into details as to the varieties of servitude existing in Africa today. The struggle against these extreme forms of human exploitation is a long and hard one.

Mention has already been made of the Middle East. Generally speaking the Moslem countries along the Persian Gulf still maintain old fashioned chattel slavery. That the system has continued for so long is evidence of the hold which orthodox Mohammedanism has on the population. Slavery is not inconsistent with Moslem belief and indeed has religious sanction. I hasten to point out that the Christian Church long sanctioned slavery and that its conversion to freedom is of comparably recent origin. The culture of the Middle East has remained little changed for centuries. There is no doubt that with the interaction between the Middle East and the West the age-old systems will undergo rapid change.

Mui tsai, or child selling for adoption, is a common form of servitude in the Far East. The system dates back at least as far as the Manchu dynasty. Its origin is poverty, and as a memorandum from the Secretary General of the United Nations has pointed out "the alternative for the parents may well be death by starvation."

The practice of selling children has spread from China and Japan to Malaya, Hong Kong, and Singapore. The authorities in these places have been and are waging a very vigorous campaign against it, and American occupation authorities have supposedly put an end to it in Japan.

In addition to *Mui tsai* other forms of forced and compulsory labor, peonage, and chattel slavery still exist in the Far East.

FORCED LABOR IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY HAS FEATURES which are unique. The system grew out of a combination of factors: the failure of the penological and criminological approach attempted there, the ruthless suppression of dissident political activity and opinion, and the imposition of collective agriculture on an unwilling populace. With explicit legal sanction the system has prime economic significance for the country. Its administration comes under the jurisdiction of the MVD or Soviet Secret Police. Tremendous canals, hydroelectric plants, railroads, timber enterprises, building construction, mining of all sorts, quarries, atomic installations, furniture factories—in short, the whole gamut of industrial endeavor—use forced labor under the direct command of the secret police. The system is unique in being geared to the twentieth century industrial civilization.

Nevertheless the system cannot be regarded merely as an attempt to reconstruct the country or develop its economic resources. Incontrovertible evidence of starvation diets, brutal treatment, and high disease and death rates in labor camps indicate the importance attached to the elimination of actual or potential political opponents.

Wherever the Soviet influence has managed to spread, slave labor has spread with it. In satellite countries the labor code, the criminal code, and the "corrective labor code" all provide for such a system. Tardiness or absenteeism result in a sentence to forced labor. Under the Soviet legal system no court trial is necessary. The worker may and most often is, sentenced without a hearing, without defense, and frequently without knowledge as to the charge, by a *troika* or committee of three individuals from the MVD. A manual of rules and regulations for running one of the large camps in the Unhta-Pechora region near Archangel shows that lumberjacks and loggers, both men and women, receive a 1,200 calorie ration each day. Similar work in this country calls for a diet of at least 5,000 calories. At the same time, the sentry dogs at the camp receive a minimum daily ration of 1,100 calories. Clothing lost or damaged is charged against the inmate and the charge may be taken out of his daily ration. Persons kept from work because of offenses committed while in camp or on the job have their rations dropped to 716 calories. Constant supplies of new workers are received for the Soviet camps from satellite states, and now China is sending her quota.

So complex is the problem of human bondage throughout the world that no one can possibly have a panacea for correcting it. But some necessary steps are clear.

1. Education of the general population as to the extent and the forms of slavery existing in the world today.
2. General support for such organizations as the British Anti-Slavery Society and Aborigines Friend, Les Amies de l'Abbé Gregoire, the Commission of Inquiry Into Forced Labor, the Workers Defense League, and similar organizations working against the exploitation of human beings.
3. Adoption by the United Nations of the recommendation of the Ad Hoc Committee on Slavery to establish a permanent slave commission.
4. Establishment of a code of international law with enforcement powers to strike down slavery in all its forms.
5. Genuine support by all countries of the efforts of the newly formed Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor in carrying out a joint investigation by the United Nations and International Labor Organization.
6. Calling of an international congress of individuals and organizations interested in all aspects of slavery for the purpose of establishing an international abolitionist movement.
7. The development in each country of organizations concerned with the problem at home.
8. The implementation of the United States Point Four program and UN technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.
9. The development of an international program of land reform as basic to a solution of the problem in countries outside of the Soviet Union.

The development of new forms of slavery today call for a renewed moral condemnation of human bondage in its various guises. New and effective action must be taken if the word "freedom" is to have any meaning for millions of human beings forced into degradation throughout the world.

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A Letter From Japan

Some Japanese editors ask how they can join the democracies' crusade against totalitarianism. *The Survey* offers $100 for the best answer

We, the members of the Japan Editors' Club extend our hearty appreciation to you who are exerting your utmost effort on behalf of a "world civilization."

When one looks upon the international scene, one witnesses the grim, relentless reality of the struggle between peace-loving, constructive democracy on one side, and bellicose, destructive communist totalitarianism on the other. Whatever one's political or ideological background, it is clear that the struggle is gaining daily in ferocity.

The Japan Editors' Club is the sole body of its kind, organized by the editors and editorial staffs of various magazines in this country. We, its members, stand ready without a moment's hesitation to declare our readiness to support democracy. However, we regret to say that the activities of totalitarians in Japan—their crafty tactics of propaganda and their persistent subversive efforts—are enabling them to sneak into every class of our society, particularly the naive younger generation. The totalitarians, usually called Communists, in this country are striving to drive the people into a thorny path, taking advantage of national embarrassment and exhaustion, as well as of political blind spots inevitably created after the war. These may be their usual tactics, practiced all over the world, yet in Japan they bore some fruit, though it soon withered.

The policies of the Allied Powers, particularly the United States, and the good sense of the Japanese themselves have influenced the masses to turn away from that kind of totalitarianism. As a matter of fact, the Japanese in general soon became disgusted with the Communists, through their bitter experiences with the extreme secretiveness of the Reds and their disregard of humanity.

Yet it is true that some among us are still in the grip of the Communists, who threaten their victims with invisible terrorism, as well as with their familiar bogey of branding those who break with them or resist them as "Reactionaries" and "Traitors." We utterly condemn the practices under which these totalitarians tirelessly seek to enslave human beings under their yoke.

In order not only to defend our way of life from the outrages of the Communists but further to help release peoples now helpless under their tyranny, we, as editors, are going to wage a battle for freedom and against communism.

Success in this battle for human values, however, requires careful planning founded on extensive knowledge. For that, we request your opinions and experience, as guides to us in defining policies and choosing methods of work.

It is our hope and belief that we shall be able to help salvage our national welfare and security from the destructive plots of Communists, and that eventually we shall be able to contribute something to world peace.

May we have your kind assistance in answering the questions stated below. You are also invited to add your comments and suggestions on other points which will help us meet and overcome the menace of the totalitarian force of today.

1. Please write us, briefly, your views of the Communist danger today.
2. Tell us what sort of outrageous act by Communists there have been in the United States, if there have been any.
3. Please tell us ideas or tactics which could be used by editors and their magazines to combat communism.
4. How do you think Japan can cooperate with the Western democracies in a crusade against these Vandals of the 20th century?
5. How do the Communists appeal to the mass of the people in your country? How are they opposed, and the real gospel of freedom and humanity shown as the alternative to the communist gospel?
6. Can you recommend some slogans for an anti-Communist drive?

—Jun-ichi Hoiden

—Mr. Hoiden sent this letter to* The Survey *in behalf of the Japan Editors' Club, of which he is director general.

How Would You Answer It?

THIS appeal to *The Survey* for light and leading came to us out of the blue. The editors decided to share the letter and the responsibility—with *Survey* readers. We hope to receive many replies to forward to the Japan Editors' Club.

For the best letter, *The Survey* offers a prize of $100. The winning reply will be publishd in the November issue, with excerpts from the runners-up.

The final decision will be made by three judges, who have made a special study of democratic institutions, the Far East, or both. They are:

Roger N. Baldwin, chairman of the national committee, American Civil Liberties Union;

Pearl Buck, author;

Robert E. Cushman, professor of government, Cornell University.

Letters, not to exceed 2,000 words in length, must be typewritten, double spaced, and include the name and address of the writer. Keep a carbon of your entry as no manuscripts will be returned.

The letters must be received by Monday morning October 1, 1951.

It goes without saying that the letters must be original and hitherto unpublished statements.

Address: Letter Editor, The Survey, 112 East 19 Street, New York 3.

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Victims of Revenge

Austria's 450,000 homeless people, *Volksdeutsche* expelled from their former homes, continue to be kept apart, a problem to themselves, the Austrian economy and the world.

CHARLES R. JOY

AUTOMOBILE GRAVEYARDS ARE NATURALLY MUCH MORE common in America than they are in Europe, but I have never seen in America a graveyard like the one I visited recently just outside the festival city of Salzburg in the American zone of Austria. For here was a graveyard, inhabited not by ghosts but by living men, women, and children. The dead cars were providing shelter for homeless people.

On one side of the roadway were the discarded parts, the old fenders and hoods and axles and battered drivers' cabs. On the other side was a weird array of huts made out of automobile parts and truck bodies, in which homeless families had made a kind of home. Some had purchased the bodies intact. One woman told me she had paid two hundred shillings, or eight dollars, for one. Others had thrown the crudest kind of a shelter together out of parts which they had salvaged.

It was a forlorn row of homes among the trees on the bank of the noble river Salzach. Yet some of the people that lived there preferred their little homes to the barracks of a crowded camp. They had a certain amount of independence, they had sunlight and fresh air and green, growing things, a view of river and mountains, and when they wished to, they could walk into the city and enjoy at least the sight of luxuries in the shop windows, even though they could not buy them.

In the first of the row of huts lived a widower who came from that part of Hungary that was close to the Yugoslavian frontier. There he owned a pleasant home, a two-story villa with gardens and a veranda. Then he and his wife were driven out of their country and found a refuge at last here in Austria. He secured a truck body and tried to make it comfortable. To keep out the rain he nailed parts of automobile hoods on the sides. He built a crude veranda in front, shaded by a piece of canvas. He found an old broken-down wicker chair. Then they set up housekeeping. But last year his wife died, and now he too is very weak, trying to recover from an operation for stomach ulcers. I took a picture of this man's grim home and when I saw the print I felt a little cheered. It revealed a CARE carton, which I had not noticed on my visit. At least he could have the solace of knowing that someone in American had remembered him, and cared about his comfort.

Next was a young woman from Cluj in Rumania. We found we had common friends back in her native city. She had made of her truck body a snug little home, warm and dry, not unattractive inside. She was cooking her evening meal on a tiny stove when I called on her. She told me how she had been driven out of Rumania, had stayed in Hungary for a time and at last had come to Austria. For a while she had worked for the American army, but there was no work for her now, and the only reminder of the army was the number beside her door, almost like a street number, USFA 689. For this was the body of an old American army truck.

Beside her hut was another one, the stove pipe sticking out at a crazy angle, like the chimneys on a Tooner-ville house. The roof had been made tight with patches of tin. The shelter was occupied by a Russian couple.

Next was a long truck body covered with black tar paper. Here lived two elderly Hungarians. Their two daughters were living in the Russian zone of Germany, and they were waiting to extend to them the hospitality of their "home" when at last they could escape.

Next was a truck body covered with galvanized iron. In contrast with the tar paper house next door it shone as though it were of silver, but it was just as poor a shelter as the others. In it, lived a couple from Yugoslavia with a daughter eight or nine years old.

Beyond that was another Yugoslavian couple, about thirty years old, both of them ill with tuberculosis.

✦

By a clergyman and author with long experience in relief work in Europe. Doctor Joy is now International Field Representative for CARE.

THE VILLAS OF THE *Volksdeutsche!* THERE THEY ARE, more than five years after the war's end. Four and five years ago their inhabitants came to Germany and Austria from Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Albania, and Greece, expelled because their ancestors many years ago had brought the Germanic culture and the Germanic speech into the lands where they settled. During the war these countries had watched many of their German speaking citizens betray them to the Nazis, and at the end of hostilities they rose in wrath against everyone of German origin—with no attempt to separate the innocent from the guilty. In their rage against the perpetrators of their own sufferings they adopted the Nazis' own method of turning against a whole ethnic group and expelled all the *Volksdeutsche* from their lands.

The result was inconceivable suffering as thousands of families were driven from land to land, the old people sickening and perishing through exhaustion, the children dying without medical help. On their arrival in Germany and Austria, they were interned in miserable camps, hungry, cold, weak.

If these German-speaking people came back to Germany and Austria thinking they were returning to their

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own motherlands, they had a sad awakening. In the name of humanity they were permitted to remain, and were allotted a poor shelter and a little food. But they found they were not wanted, for by virtue of their very numbers they constituted a tremendous burden on the state. The Austrians resented their presence, for it made their own bad living conditions worse. Besides, the newcomers were potential rivals for the few jobs available. Therefore, they were not integrated into the Austrian economy, but kept apart.

Sometimes they were called vagabonds, though their wanderings were forced upon them. Actually, hardly a single criminal has been found among them. They have caused no disturbance in Austria. They have settled down quietly where they have been put, striving to make a precarious living, hoping for a better day, but seeing no light ahead.

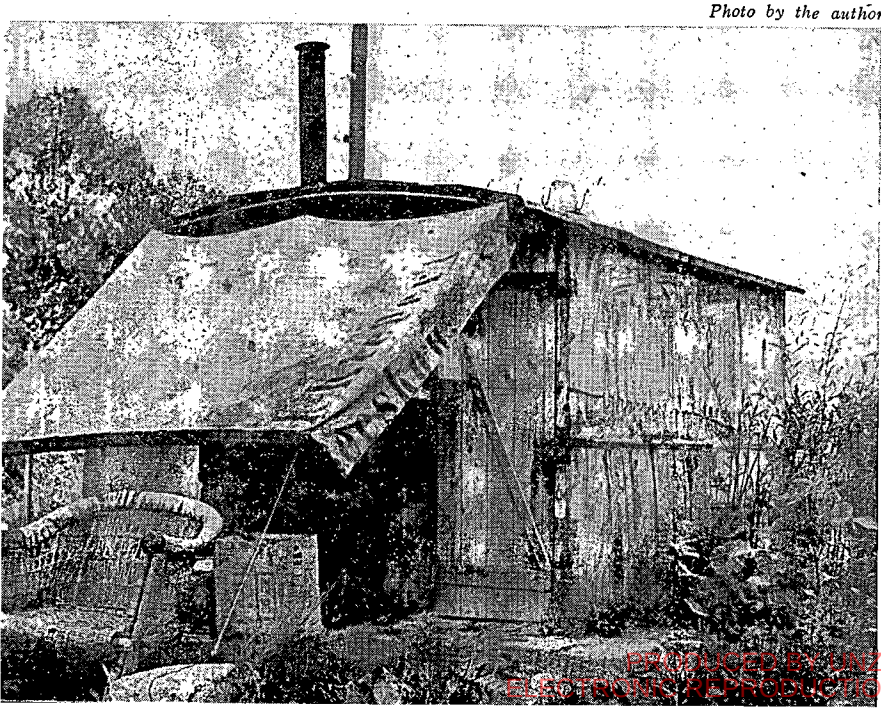
There are 450,000 of them today, and still they are kept apart: They are not Austrian citizens, and have practically no rights in the land. Some of them are living under frightful conditions. Just outside of Salzburg there is a former army veterinary hospital. In the sheds where the horses once were kept *Volksdeutsche* now live, six, eight, and sometimes more in a single room. The place is swarming with little children. Last year when I was there, there were over a thousand people living in these stalls. This year there are 1,400.

Out near the little city of Regau, in another *Volksdeutsche* community, 130 people, among them 30 children, are all living underground. Their homes are holes dug in the earth by the Nazis toward the end of the war to escape the liberated inhabitants of concentration camps and the approaching allied armies. The holes were covered with beams and boards, earth was piled up on top, and the shelters were ready for occupancy. Now these holes are occupied by men and women and children from a little town in Yugoslavia. They have lived there like moles for more than four years. One of them was the former *burgermeister* of his Yugoslavian community.

Up near Linz such communities of exiles are located in former factories, and everywhere the expellees are living in barracks, which were intended to be temporary but are proving to be permanent—barracks which deteriorate through the years.

". . . and on the front he built a crude veranda . . ."

Photo by the author



One naturally thinks first of the innocent children who surely deserve a better chance in life. But perhaps our greatest measure of sympathy should be poured out upon the parents who suffer not only for themselves but also for their children. Said one of these mothers, "I leave early in the morning to work and all day I worry about my two children, left unattended. . . . But what else can I do'?"

Moreover, many of the children have never known anything else and on the whole seem quite contented, even those living in the underground camp. They could not remember anything better, and seemed to enjoy life in spite of the fact that they were often hungry, and sometimes wet and uncomfortable. Another mother remarked: "My little boy gets along better than we do, for he has never known anything except his room in this barrack where we almost suffocate with the heat. Yet in spite of all this we do not want too much rain, for then the roof leaks so badly."

Is there really to be no future for these people? It is long past due. At last, however, two weak rays of sunlight are beginning to penetrate into the darkness of the *Volksdeutsche* night.

Some of these people will have a chance to emigrate to other less populous lands. The Economic Cooperation Administration has appropriated a million dollars to assist such emigration, and the expellees in Austria are eligible among others for this assistance. A few will find a new home in other lands in this way, but not many, for even if this entire sum were spent on the Austrian *Volksdeutsche* it would mean only $2 apiece.

More promising for all of them is the law that is now being discussed in the Austrian parliament to grant the returned *Volksdeutsche* citizenship. Though this would not solve their economic problem, it would leave them free to move about and seek employment like any other member of Austrian society. Would this mean that they would displace present citizens in their jobs? This is the question that Austrians raise, and this is the question that endangers the law.

Under the Geneva Convention political refugees have a right to shelter in other lands. But if this right means the shadowed existence that these people have led for five years it is indeed meaningless. The world must prevent somehow all future mass shifting of populations, and for those already shifted it must find new homes, new opportunities for decent life.

In the meantime their hope and courage can be kept alive if they can see evidence that they are not the forgotten people of the world. CARE packages and the thoughtful services rendered by a number of voluntary agencies, such as the International Union for Child Welfare, are as important for the good will they convey as for the very practical aid they supply. If these rays of sunlight are allowed to become dim before the world has made a real place for these harried people, their patience may become exhausted and give way to the kind of festering resentment which has been the source of so much trouble on this earth. ▫

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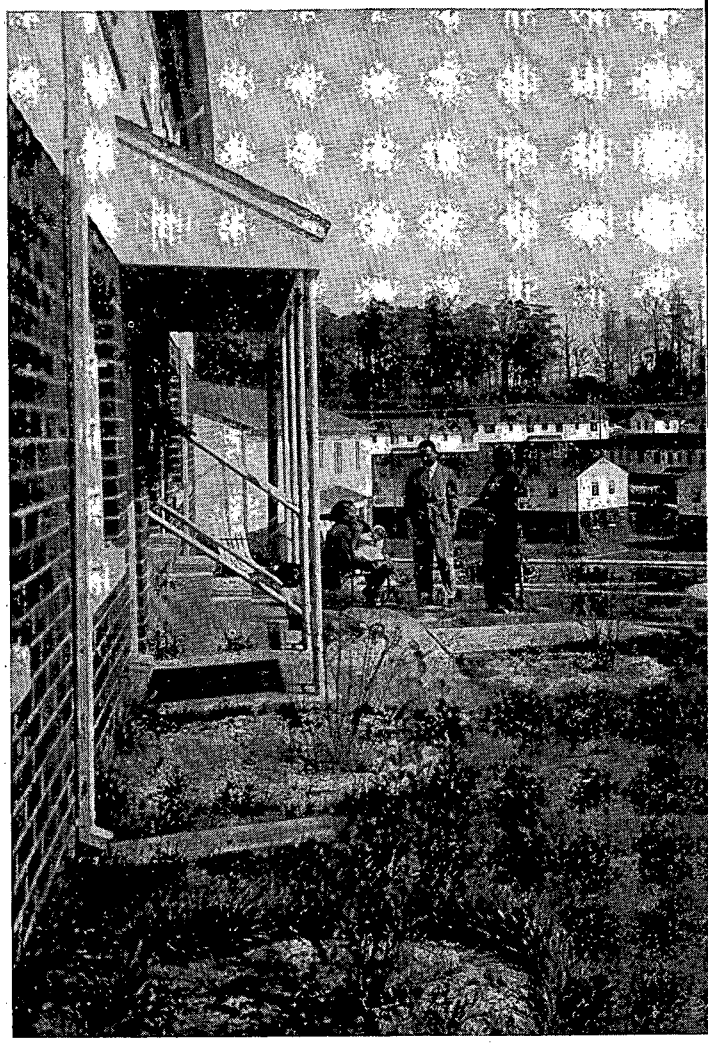
Housing for a N



Photos by Gabriel Benzur

HIGHPOINT APARTMENTS, A PRIVATE HOUSING VENTURE, has provided Atlanta, Georgia, with a new kind of community—a place where middle income Negroes can live according to ordinary middle income standards. With 452 units, the project was opened for occupancy in October 1950.

A pioneer from the beginning, Highpoint is the largest housing project for Negroes to be approved in the South for mortgage insurance by the Federal Housing Authority, and the first development of its kind in metropolitan Atlanta. Moreover, it broke first ground in an expansion area outside the city limits and far from the dilapidated neighborhoods which white opinion has allotted to Negroes.

FHA, which had previously approved only twenty-four dwelling units for Atlanta Negroes, was doubtful that such a development would ever pay for itself. Few Negroes, the objection ran, would be willing to pay rents as high as $45 and $55 a month, however attractive the apartments and their surroundings. Even Negroes of moderately high incomes have traditionally lived in substandard neighborhoods. Who was to say that they didn't prefer it that way?

Morris B. Abram and Hugh Howell, white developers of Highpoint, said so earnestly and repeatedly. They were backed up by civic minded organizations and individuals of both races, who pointed out that Atlanta's Negro ghettos were created by white restrictions, not by Negro choice. FHA finally conceded the point.

The same kind of interracial teamwork combined to secure the approval of the Fulton County Commission for the location, over the violent protests of white property owners.

Today, Highpoint is fully occupied by Negro families who have shown they are not in the least reluctant to pay medium rent for a comfortable place to live. A modern shopping center, to include a super-market, drug store, self-service laundry, and other such facilities, is under construction. A community church is virtually completed, and a recreation area for the project's children is in daily use.

For many tradesmen and passersby this new neighborhood is a startling discovery. Said one of them, in typical surprise, "Why, these folks live just like anybody else. I didn't know there were such colored people."

It was more than a whim that prompted the developers of Highpoint to dedicate it "to the sacredness and dignity of the individual and his family."

—HAROLD C. FLEMING

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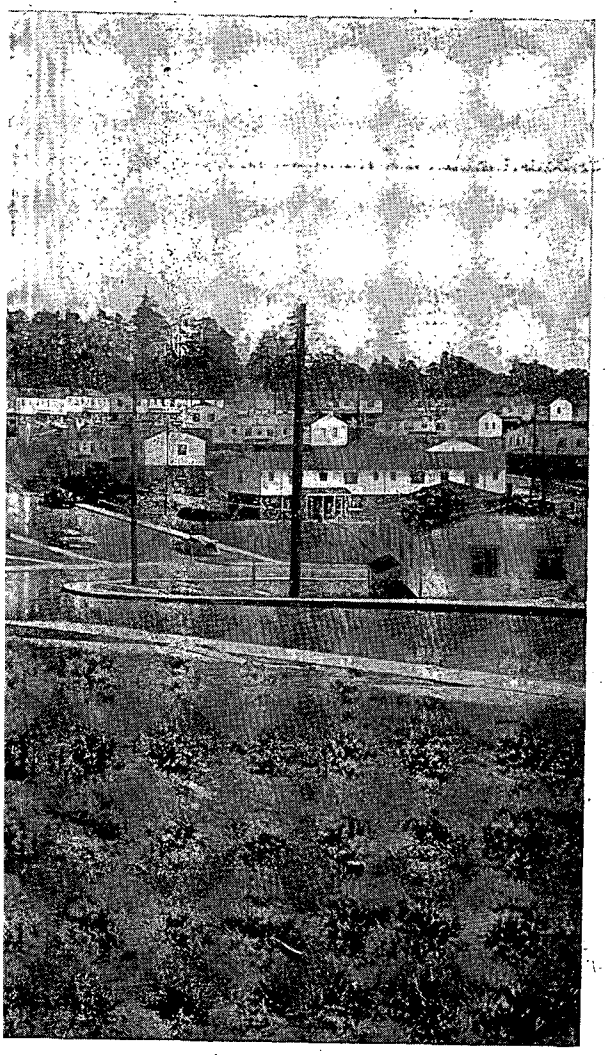
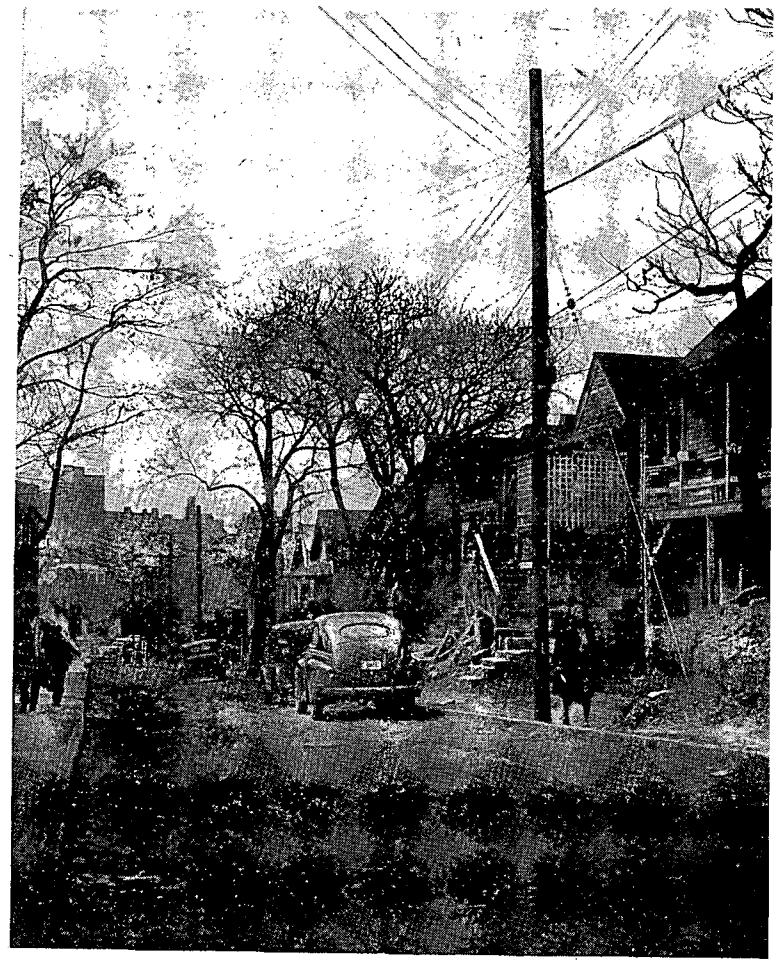
Middle Class





Before Highpoint, Atlanta offered middle-income, or even well-to-do Negroes little to choose from other than the kind of neglected neighborhood pictured *above*.

Neat houses, paved streets, room to breath, at Highpoint *(center)* have become a rare reality for Atlanta Negroes willing to pay for what hitherto has not been available.

Dignified living involves more than a place to eat and sleep, as the Highpoint community realized when they built the church *below*.

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Dr. Holmes of Arizona

What happened when a successful physician retired, to devote the rest of his life to the improvement of race relations in his state.

JOSEPH STOCKER

ARIZONA IS A YOUNG STATE AND, LIKE ALL YOUNGSTERS, more or less preoccupied with simply growing up. Until about three years ago, there was little room in its scheme of things for such civilized niceties as the fostering of civil liberties and minority rights. An ugly pattern of Jim Crowism had taken root.

Then, without much fanfare, things began to happen. The Phoenix airport restaurant started serving Negroes without discrimination. A Negro teacher was employed in a white high school. A Negro librarian went to work in Phoenix. A shabby, made-over dancehall being used as a segregated high school for the Negro children of two neighboring towns was abandoned and the children absorbed into the schools of their respective communities. Finally, a short time ago, the Arizona legislature voted to abolish compulsory segregation in grade schools.

These and other significant steps toward a standard of decency in Arizona's race relations have been—either entirely or in large part—the handiwork of an organization known as the Arizona Council for Civic Unity. And the Council itself is the handiwork of one man, a handsome, energetic, white-haired physician by the name of Fred G. Holmes.

He practiced in Phoenix for many years and was one of the leading chest specialists of the Southwest. Then in 1947, at the age of 58 and at the crest of a medical boom, Doctor Holmes quit his lucrative practice.

His objectives, somewhat extraordinary in this age of cynical self-aggrandizement: To devote the rest of his active years to humanitarian endeavors and community service, "returning" (as he phrased it) "a few of the things with which I've been tremendously blessed."

One of his prime interests was the safeguarding and extension of civil liberties. He was not quite sure how to go about it. So he caught a train to Chicago and called on Dr. Louis Wirth, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and then president of the American Council on Race Relations.

"I've just retired from the practice of medicine," said Holmes matter-of-factly, "not because I want to loaf but because I want to work. My chief concern right now is the improvement of race relations. I believe that's the most fundamental problem in the world. And I've got $2,000 that I want to invest in it."

It took Professor Wirth a few seconds to recover from shock. While he was recovering, Holmes went on:

"I'm not the only person in Arizona who has these feelings. But I don't know who the others are."

"Yes," said Wirth reflectively, "someone has to run up the flag and ring the bell so the others can gather around."

"What can I do?" Holmes demanded.

Wirth suggested that the physician go back to Arizona and start a Civic Unity movement, to rally, along with the minorities, those of the majority who were people of good will. The $2,000, they agreed, would be "banked" with the American Council on Race Relations, to be parceled out to the Arizona program as it developed.

Holmes went home and called a meeting in Phoenix. The upshot was the birth of the Greater Phoenix Council for Civic Unity. Shortly afterward a Tucson chapter was formed. Then these two groups, with individual members in other Arizona cities, organized the state Council.

Today the Council, with Holmes as president, comprises several hundred men and women throughout the state. They are a mixture of races, creeds, and political adherences, but they have one purpose in common: To make democracy universally meaningful on the grassroots level. In pursuing this end, they are setting a spirited example for Americans in other states.

IT IS PERHAPS REVEALING THAT, WHILE SUBSTANTIAL NUMbers of Negroes, Mexicans, Jews, Catholics, and Orientals joined Civic Unity, even more members of the majority responded when the doctor "rang the bell and ran up the flag." It was as Holmes and Wirth suspected—there was a great untapped reservoir of good will in Arizona.

Besides appealing to many of the plain people of the state, Civic Unity has attracted not a few of Arizona's leading citizens. These include a department store owner, a prominent clothier, a member of a firm operating a statewide chain of office supplies stores, several ministers, doctors, and lawyers. The organization has an aura of solid respectability which is sometimes lacking in movements of this kind. And this aura is to a very great extent that of Holmes himself.

At various times he has been president of the state medical association, county medical society, and state tuberculosis association, and a member of the board of governors of the American College of Physicians. He also is a prominent Presbyterian layman and has presided over the Arizona Council of Churches. Thus he has been able to bring into Civic Unity many of the conservative friends he made during a lifetime of medical practice and civic work. They are people whose support has helped give the organization the prestige it needs for effective labor in the delicate field of race relations. "They just can't dismiss him as a crackpot," explained an associate.

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—By a fellow citizen of Dr. Holmes, a writer who also cooperates in the work of the Phoenix chapter of the Council for Civic Unity, which he here describes.

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Holmes, a practical man, once described this as an investment of his "capital of public approval."

"I have accumulated a certain amount of that capital," he explained. "It's dead capital unless it's used. So I've chanced it. I may end up with more than I started with, or I may lose it. But if I lose it, that makes no difference, because it's only an intangible. Anyway, it's a shame for a man to die with a large capital of public approval which he has never chanced for the underdog."

Holmes' contagious enthusiasm and his talent for money-raising has been a boon to Civic Unity. He went among the Negroes, who were understandably skeptical about such a movement, and came back with more money than they had ever donated to any other cause. Explained one donor, "If a white man feels the cause so strongly that he's willing to work and give his means, I can't do anything else."

Holmes, who has seven children, four of them doctors, is a man of medium height, with flashing blue eyes and a body that seems full of coiled springs. His energy and capacity for work are almost limitless. As one of his friends remarked affectionately, "He's a gadfly—one of the darndest conscience-ticklers around here."

He has made frequent trips to Chicago at his own expense to consult with Professor Wirth. He has provided office facilities for the Council's full time executive secretary at no cost to the organization. Yet he is extremely modest—his name rarely appears in the newspapers. And he is extremely impatient for results, chafing at the realization that progress in race relations is often a process of taking two steps forward and falling back one. But experience has taught him that judicious compromise is a *sine qua non* of civil liberties work.

Holmes was born in Missouri. He earned his way through college in the classic manner—by selling magazines—and obtained his medical degree from Harvard.

His decision to retire, at a time when he might have counted on at least ten more years of exceedingly profitable practice, caused some surprise among his fellow physicians. He explained that if he did not retire, "all I would do is accumulate more money."

Several personal experiences also figured in his decision:

The first occurred during his boyhood in Missouri. One day his mother asked a Negro woman to help her pack for a journey. When noon came, this woman was invited to join the family at the lunch table. They were startled by a knock at the door, and Mrs. Holmes, panicky lest a prying neighbor suspect her of trying to upset the local *mores,* shooed the woman into the kitchen and swept her dishes off the table. It was a disturbing revelation to a lad who had been too busy enjoying the friendship of his Negro playmates to develop race prejudice.

Another experience was Holmes' discovery, when he returned to Arizona from navy service in World War I, that school segregation had gained a foothold in a hitherto democratic state. He could remember the day when whites, Negroes, and Mexicans intermingled freely.

"We were using education to divide people rather than to unite them," says Holmes. "This struck me as very illogical. I was sure that education should teach the dignity of the human being."

And the third experience, in 1935, was a personal calamity—although Holmes calls it "the most fortunate thing that ever happened to me." He developed TB. It kept him bedfast for eight months. "For the first time," he recalls, "I had a chance to think. I decided that I wanted to make some contribution to life. Instead of being a sponge soaking everything up, I wanted to give out. I was anxious to do some major thing while I still had energy left and not give the tail years of my life. I decided on trying to bring unity among the people of Arizona."

How well he has succeeded in this undertaking can be judged by the impressive list of achievements of the Civic Unity Council in its three years of work.

The case of the Phoenix airport restaurant is typical.

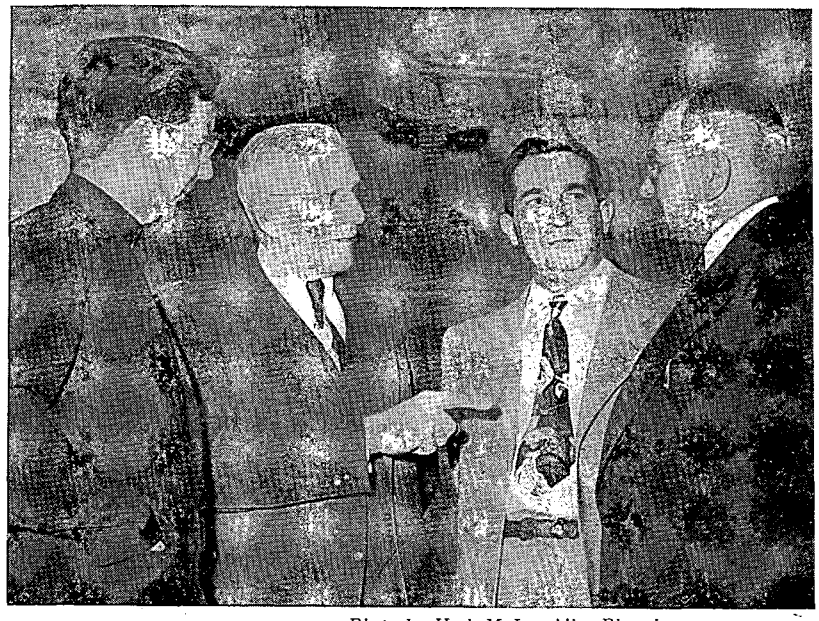

Photo by Herb McLaughlin, Phoenix

Dr. Holmes, *second from left,* discusses Arizona race relations with religious and educational leaders in Phoenix

It had refused steadfastly to serve Negroes. Those who traveled through Arizona by plane had to spend stopovers outside the restaurant door, while their white fellow passengers trooped inside for their midmorning coffee or noonday snacks.

Holmes and his co-workers in Civic Unity decided to see what they could do about it. First they thumbed through the municipal ordinance books. Then they called on the officials at city hall.

"That restaurant," they observed quietly, "is operating on municipal land under a lease from the city. We have an ordinance in Phoenix which prohibits discrimination on city-owned property."

City officials quickly saw the point. The restaurant was soon serving its coffee and snacks on a come-one-come-all basis.

The case of the dancehall-school was an even greater accomplishment. It was called 11-Mile School because it was located just 11 miles from each of the two towns whose Negro children it accommodated. And what an educational travesty it was! Its cloakrooms were used for classes. One shelf of books constituted its entire library. A few test tubes were its laboratory equipment.

This time, Holmes and the Civic Unity Council lacked any law to back them up, since high school segregation was optional in Arizona. They had to rely on their talents for persuasion.

They appealed to the school officials involved. Then they fired their first broadside. It was a skillfully com-

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posed brochure entitled "Close the Breach," pointing out the fallacy and wastefulness of "separate but equal" schooling in general and of 11-Mile School in particular. For the taxpayers were spending $11,250 a year, or $750 per pupil, for the dubious luxury of segregating their fifteen Negro high school students. This amounted to three times the cost of educating white children in the two communities.

Persuasion carried the day. The 11-Mile School was closed. One of the towns immediately absorbed its Negro children into its own high school. The other temporized at first with partial integration. Then—under continued coaxing from Civic Unity—it moved on to complete integration. Not a single racial incident marked the changeover in either of the high schools.

Between times, the Civic Unity people have been hitting at the ogre of bigotry wherever it lifts its head. Such an incident occurred when a Negro family moved into a small ranching community. They were the town's only Negro residents. In due course the parents applied for admission of their children to the local school. Then the trouble began.

The school board said, "No." A fiery cross was burned one night near the Negroes' home and shots came from somewhere in the darkness.

But the plucky family stood firm. Soon word of their troubles leaked out. The Council brought pressure on the little community and the terrorizing ceased, but the school board refused to yield. Then a suit was filed against the board. The very next morning the Negro parents were notified to have their children ready when the school bus came by. Although the facilities provided were segregated and pitifully inadequate, at least a start was made.

Another incident took place in a northern Arizona city. A young prince from Nigeria was traveling across the state. With him were four young white men, his fellow students at a California university. The five stopped at a restaurant to eat. The prince was brusquely refused service. When he remonstrated, the manager called a deputy sheriff, who proceeded to give the guest a thorough roughing-up.

The incident might have ended there, except for the intervention of Holmes and the Civic Unity Council. They did not think this was a good way to demonstrate American democracy to an impressionable visitor, especially at a time when our democracy is being challenged from so many quarters. The Council dragged the incident out into the open, made a statewide *cause célèbre* of it and secured an apology from the local chamber of commerce.

HOLMES DESCRIBES IN THESE WORDS HIS CONCEPT OF HOW the ramparts of prejudice should be stormed: "We try to start on the easy things first, not pick the biggest giant and fell him."

Thus it was that the Civic Unity Council, having done some of the easy things first, decided finally to pick a giant. It set itself to de-segregate the schools by legislative fiat. (While high school segregation was optional, state law made grade school segregation compulsory.)

In 1949, Holmes lobbied for three weeks to get a de-segregation bill through the legislature. The measure failed to come out of committee, but his efforts bore fruit. In both houses of the legislature, minds hitherto closed began to open a little.

This year Civic Unity tried again, strengthened by the presence of two Negro legislators for the first time in state history. A de-segregation law was passed. It was a compromise—permissive instead of mandatory. But it was effective, as evidenced by the fact that, within a few hours after the measure was signed, the Tucson school board voted to abandon its segregation policy.

Holmes' devotion to the idea of oneness among America's heterogeneous peoples is a principle which he carries into his personal life. Prominent Negro visitors turned away by Phoenix hotels have found welcome in his home. He has accompanied Negroes into restaurants to test racial policies.

He refuses to join organizations which practice discrimination. When an exclusive club of business and professional men in Phoenix solicited his membership, Holmes sent in a check—and asked one question: Would the club accept a Negro or a Mexican-American to membership, providing he could qualify otherwise? Not until three months later did Holmes get his answer. It consisted of the return of his check and a cryptic note to the effect that the membership lists had been closed.

THE INDEFATIGABLE DOCTOR CHIPS AWAY AT PREJUDICE wherever he finds it, even, if need be, in his own church. He borrowed the pulpit from his pastor one Sunday to deliver a sermon based on Gunnar Myrdal's famous study, "An American Dilemma." Except for Easter and Christmas, the sermon drew the biggest crowd of the year. It also cost Holmes a friendship of long standing, for one leading parishioner, an unreconstructed southerner, refused to speak to him again.

Holmes wondered at the outset of his work in behalf of minorities whether it would prove to be an unpopular cause. For himself that mattered little. As he put it crisply, "I can't be fired. I can't be hurt. I don't want to be elected to office. In other words, I just don't give a hang."

But, knowing that bigots are sometimes found in high places, he was anxious that his involvement should not prove harmful to agencies in which he was interested. Hence he offered his resignation as president of the YMCA. The "Y" refused to accept it, assuring him that what he had been doing was in the organization's best tradition. The following year, with the "Y" in the midst of a major drive for funds, Holmes submitted his resignation again, and this time insisted that it be accepted. The organization promptly made him chairman of its big gifts committee, which then went out and raised nearly a half million dollars.

Today Holmes is convinced that crusading for the minorities—for what he calls civic unity—is not an unpopular cause at all.

"Those who hesitate to come out and take a stand needn't fear," he says firmly. "It's a way of winning public esteem."

Fred Holmes has won this esteem beyond question. One thoughtful Arizonan summed it up recently by saying, "If it hadn't been for Doctor Holmes, there wouldn't be a civil liberties movement in Arizona." And a Negro, groping earnestly for words with which to appraise him declared, "He's a —well—I'd say he's a Christian."

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On the Labor-Management Front

JOHN A. FITCH

AFL AND CIO REPRESENTATIVES WERE PRESENT IN Milan, Italy, in July, at the second meeting of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Three hundred delegates attended, representing 53,000,000 workers in sixty-six countries. Organized in London in December 1949, as a world movement in opposition to the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, the confederation has gone far beyond the merely negative policy of opposition. At the Milan conference resolutions were adopted calling for peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Japan, condemning all dictatorships whether of the right or the left, urging technical aid to underdeveloped areas, favoring the economic unity of Europe, and calling on all governments to implement action taken at the conference of the International Labor Organization which preceded the Milan gathering. Paul Finet of Belgium, president of the Congress said that the main task of the trade unions is to support the Western rearmament program in defense of the democratic freedoms.

An invitation from the World Federation of Trade Unions to form a united labor front—a "Trojan Horse" proposal, the *CIO News* called it—was rejected by a unanimous vote. A reply to the WFTU, adopted at the final session, read in part: "We are ready to talk about a common front when you abolish all concentration camps and all practice of slave work. . . . As long as you remain faithful agents of the Cominform, carrying out the Kremlin's foreign policy, there can be no joint action."

An interesting feature was the presence of an observer from the Finnish labor movement, which had recently voted in their national convention to withdraw from the Communist-dominated WFTU and to join the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Further evidence of the tendency of AFL and CIO leaders to draw closer together appeared at the Milan gathering. On the motion of a CIO delegate, Matthew Woll, second vice-president of the AFL, was elected chairman of the American delegation. Then, at Mr. Woll's suggestion, Jacob Potofsky, president of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was chosen secretary.

In contrast to this smooth-running partnership on the international front, domestic labor unity was rocked by a bombshell in mid-August when the AFL announced its pending withdrawal from the United Labor Policy Committee, authorized by an eleven to two vote of the AFL executive council.

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CORNELL UNIVERSITY HAS ANNOUNCED THE CREATION OF an Institute of International Industrial and Labor Relations, to be centered in the School of Industrial and Labor Relations at the University. According to the acting president, Theodore P. Wright, the new unit will "explore labor-management relationships in this country and abroad with a view to working toward their improvement." Typical of contemplated research projects is an inquiry now being organized into the origins and background of "co-determination" in German industries.

Professor Leonard P. Adams, head of the research program of the School of Industrial and Labor Relations is acting director of the new institute.

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THE HANDICAPS IMPOSED BY THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT ON the unions subject to it, in their efforts to obtain union shop agreements, contrast strangely with the freedom with which railway employes may now negotiate such contracts. The Railway Labor Act as passed by Congress in 1926 forbade all forms of union security clauses, and thus was more severe than the Taft-Hartley Act passed in 1947, which permits the negotiations of a union shop agreement if a majority of the employes affected first vote for it. Last January, however, Congress amended the Railway Labor Act so as to permit railway employes to enter into union shop agreements without previous voting or non-Communist affidavits. The railway unions are therefore now actively engaged in signing union shop agreements with the railroads. Such an agreement was recently concluded between the trainmen and the New York Central system. An odd aspect of the situation appears in the case of those unions that have agreements both with the railroads and with other enterprises. The Machinists Union, for example, now has complete freedom to bargain for a union shop for its members who work for the railroads, but when it bargains for members working in an airplane factory it is subject to the Taft-Hartley Act and must file non-Communist affidavits and take a vote of its members before it can start union shop negotiations.

Nevertheless, upon the whole, labor-management relations in industry generally appear to be more harmonious, at the moment, than on the railroads. After many months of negotiation, disputes involving three brotherhoods—the Engineers, the Firemen, and the Conductors—remain unsettled. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen signed a national agreement last May ending a 26-month struggle, but in such an atmosphere that the *Trainman News*, social organ of the Brotherhood, treated it as a temporary truce. "Our forces are intact for another round in an arena another day" was the ominous conclusion of an editorial devoted largely to a condemnation of management tactics.

It may reasonably be assumed that responsibility for the deterioration in labor-management relations does not

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lie at one door and one only. In its last report the National Mediation Board comments as follows: "The Board is . . . disturbed by the apparent reluctance of both the carriers and the organizations, in national cases, to conduct thorough collective bargaining. . . . If the Railway Labor Act is to survive, there must be . . . the desire of the parties to make it work. . . . " The Board states that "in some situations" the employes believe that management is operating "under a feeling of assurance" that the government will protect them against the use of economic power by the unions; and that the carriers feel that collective bargaining is made difficult because the unions force the use of emergency boards and accept the reports "which they considered favorably, and reject such portions they may deem unfavorable." Insofar as these feelings have substance, concludes the Board, "both are contrary to the spirit and intent of the law."

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THE 34TH CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR Organization (which was created in 1919 by the Versailles Treaty, and continues under the aegis of the United Nations, thus being the "sole survivor" of the international bodies set up after World War I) was held in Geneva in June, with government, employer, and labor delegates present from sixty countries. For the first time since 1946 CIO as well as AFL representatives were present. The conference takes two forms of action. It adopts "conventions," which are proposed treaties, and must be presented to the member countries for ratification or rejection, and "recommendations," which are submitted to member countries for their consideration, without any obligation to take action.

This year two conventions were adopted. One provided for equal pay for women and men for work of equal value. The other called for the setting up of minimum wage-fixing machinery for agricultural workers. Two recommendations that were approved called for the creation of machinery to aid in collective bargaining and to promote the voluntary conciliation of industrial disputes. Noteworthy also was the decision to admit to membership Japan, Yugoslavia, and the Federal Republic of Germany (Western Germany). This action brought to sixty-five the number of countries holding membership in ILO.

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DECISIONS OF THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD constantly reveal new aspects of labor-management relations and new quirks in the Taft-Hartley Act. There was the decision last spring interpreting the "featherbedding" clause of the Act. Under it the Musicians Union could not make a theater owner pay local musicians full wages for standing by whenever an outside orchestra came in to fill an engagement, but could make him balance the situation by staging another concert later on to be given by the home boys.

More recently the Fur Workers Union has been required to join with an employer in making up to an employe wages lost because of his illegal discharge at the demand of the union. The employe in question, being 30 years old, had regularly turned out more work than the others in the section with him who averaged 55 years of age, so the union demanded his discharge. The president of the Fur Workers is an avowed Communist and is therefore unable to take the non-Communist oath. Consequently the Board cannot recognize the union for purposes of receiving the protection of the Act. The decision in this case shows that it is, nevertheless, subject to the law's ban on unfair labor practices.

An NLRB election was held recently to determine the bargaining agent for employes of the John Hancock Life Insurance Company. The United Office and Professional Workers—one of the unions expelled by the CIO last year as Communist-dominated—had previously represented these employes. The Board ordered the election because of the "extreme confusion and uncertainty" arising from the expulsion and the subsequent defection from that union of a large part of its membership. The Board pointed out that of the 5,800 employes involved 2,600 belonged to local unions that had separated themselves from the UOPWA and had rejoined the CIO, and that 1,480 worked in offices that were unorganized, leaving slightly over 1,700 who were, presumably, still loyal to the expelled union. The election, in which over 90 percent of the eligible employes participated, resulted in a victory for the CIO Insurance Workers Organizing Committee, with 3,064 votes. The United Insurance agents—said to represent the former UOPWA—stood second with 1,499 votes; 652 voted for an AFL union and there were 78 votes for "no union."

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LACK OF HOUSING IS HOLDING BACK THE SCHEDULED expansion of aircraft production, states Al Hayes, president of the Machinists Union which, it is maintained, speaks for 70 percent of the nation's aircraft workers. At a recent meeting in Washington, union delagations from each of fifteen major aircraft plants reported on the expected expansion of personnel in each plant, the present housing shortage, and the rent levels in each aircraft center. Their reports indicated that the aircraft industry must nearly double its personnel within the next two years to meet present production schedules, and that in most areas, housing already is exhausted. Aircraft workers are traveling as much as seventy miles each way to work. Rents have been decontrolled in a number of aircraft centers with consequent increases up to 40 percent. Turnover is said to be reaching astronomical proportions largely due to the inability of incoming workers to find quarters for their families.

In a statement explaining the efforts of his union to bring the critical housing situation to the attention of Congress and the country, Mr. Hayes declared:

"Free men will not willingly work for long in a community where they must pay exhorbitant rents or where they must house their families in shanties, slums, or broken down busses. . . . No small community such as Marietta, Georgia, for example, with a peacetime population of 20,000, can be expected to finance the housing of 30,000 aircraft workers and their families—many of them employed only temporarily—who are scheduled to work at the newly opened Lockheed plant there. If Congressmen and Senators want aircraft built in the quantities they have voted, they will have to give some attention and some funds for the housing of aircraft workers in Marietta, Tulsa, and Wichita, in San Diego, Farmingdale, and Ft. Worth, in St. Louis, Seattle, and Los Angeles, in Hartford and all the other defense centers."

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"The Weapon of Shame"

GEORGE C. STONEY

In the past two years, demands have been heard in perhaps half the state legislatures that the names and addresses of old people, dependent children, and the handicapped who receive public assistance be made public. Since January, eight legislatures actually have passed measures which would force caseworkers to violate the social work principle of confidentiality.

The fact that such disclosure is directly forbidden in the Social Security Act in connection with assistance programs aided by federal grants has either persuaded governors to veto these measures, or has caused legislators to write into their laws the proviso that they shall not be put in force if they will cause federal funds to be lost.

The single exception is Indiana, where no such clause was included and where the measure calling for publication of lists was passed over the governor's veto. At this writing Indiana has not received its August allotment for social welfare benefits. FSA Administrator Oscar Ewing has ruled that the new state law requiring welfare officials to publish recipients' names and addresses in a special book and make them available for public inspection is a violation of both the letter and clear intent of the Social Security Act as amended in 1939.

No requirement as to confidentiality of information about recipients was included in the original act. This was inserted by Congress in 1939 after an investigation of political campaigns in several states, notably Ohio, had suggested how easy it was to turn lists of people receiving public assistance to political advantage.

Indiana's Senator William E. Jenner has been trying all summer to persuade Congress that this is a matter each state should decide for itself. In June, he introduced an amendment to the Federal Security-Labor appropriations bill calling for this change. It was accepted with little debate and passed the Senate, along with the appropriations, on a unanimous vote. Later, in joint conference with the House the amendment was eliminated because it was considered an attempt to legislate in an appropriations bill and therefore out of line with congressional procedure.

On July 19, Senator Jenner introduced a similar amendment to an unrelated tax bill. This time he was joined by Senator Dirksen, a fellow Republican of Illinois, whose own state legislature had passed a law requiring the publication of assistance lists if this could be done without forfeiting federal allotments. After an hour of debate, during which Senator Jenner's amendment got muddled with several other matters, it was passed by a vote of 38 to 30.

Despite the shortness of the debate, views of both sides were voiced fairly clearly. Senators Jenner and Dirksen, with such Republican supporters as Mundt of South Dakota and Bricker of Ohio, gave assurances that the sole intent of making the rolls public was "to make it difficult for cheats and chiselers to be on the assistance rolls behind the veil of secrecy." Or, as Senator Dirksen put it, the measure is necessary "in order that the weapon of shame may be employed against people whose fathers, mothers, and other relatives should not be on the rolls."

Senators Kerr of Oklahoma, Lehman of New York, and Humphrey of Minnesota, all Democrats, opposed the measure with vigor. They reviewed the scandal that had caused Congress to add the provision for confidentiality in 1939. Senator Lehman, speaking from his experience as governor of New York, said the exposure of recipients to public scrutiny would do no more than further embarrass those in genuine need, while attracting applications from "cheats and chiselers" who would decide to apply for assistance because a neighbor had gotten away with it.

The House has asked for a committee report. So, at this writing, the fate of the Jenner amendment rests with the Ways and Means Committee.

Interviews with influential members of this powerful House committee suggest that the Jenner amendment will not be reported out with favor. However, reasons given also suggest that its defeat will be due chiefly to the methods used by its sponsors rather than to any real opposition to it in principle.

As committee member Wilbur Mills, Democrat of Arkansas, put it, the legislators of Indiana tried to force FSA Administrator Ewing to violate congressional statute and "do something he'd deserve to get fired for." They failed. Now, through Senator Jenner's amendment, they are "trying to take over the job of Congress and legislate for the whole country."

What about the issue itself? Should public assistance rolls be made public? A surprising number of Congressmen and Senators do not wish to be quoted on the matter. Men from states whose legislatures have passed resolutions approving publication are particularly cautious. There is a widespread feeling among Democrats that while Adminis-

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trator Ewing was bound by law to withhold funds from Indiana his action in doing so has provided Senator Jenner and his fellow Republicans with the effective battle cry of "states rights."

Republicans in Indiana and adjoining states are making political capital of the situation. The Indianapolis *Star*, under the front page banner headline "EWING DEFIES INDIANA LAW," ran a story on August 1, by Washington correspondent Ben Cole that will make a useful campaign document. It personified the issue by making the administrator's action "another example of a federal bureaucrat's utter disregard for the welfare of our aged and needy citizens."

Congressman Mills is one of several who have suggested that the various state campaigns to break down confidentiality of relief rolls are centrally directed. Members of Ewing's staff, however, seem to agree that the evidence of a nationally organized campaign is rather nebulous. Jane Hoey, director of the Bureau of Public Assistance, says everyone wants to know why, during a period of prosperity such as we have known since 1946, assistance rolls and expenses kept on rising steadily until last year.

Frank Bane of the Council of State Governments put this question bluntly in a recent letter to Arthur J. Altmeyer, U. S. Commissioner for Social Security.

In his published reply Commissioner Altmeyer related some equally blunt facts from the 1950 census. While the

total population increased 14.5 percent in ten years the number of people over sixty-five increased 37 percent and the number of children under five increased 55 percent. There is simply a larger portion of Americans who now fall into the age brackets covered by old age assistance and aid to dependent children—the two public assistance categories responsible for the largest proportion of expenditures. Meanwhile, inflation has boosted the amount these people need for food, clothing, and shelter.

"Few people seem to understand that the assistance programs are created and governed by the states and localities," said Miss Hoey. Federal regulations cover only general policies that guard against favoritism among and within the states. The number of recipients in many states has jumped up remarkably because the legislatures themselves have liberalized eligibility requirements. If "cheats and chiselers" are on the rolls the local and state governing bodies to whom the welfare organizations are responsible have full authority to do something about them.

FEDERAL REQUIREMENTS ON CONFIDENTIALITY do not prevent states from reducing the rolls by passing and enforcing laws requiring assistance recipients to give the state liens on their property, relatives to assume some of the responsibility for aid, and deserted husbands to support their families. Miss Hoey acknowledged in many instances these laws are difficult and expensive to enforce. However, she and other members of the FSA staff drew evidence from the past that Senator Dirksen's "weapon of shame" is not the efficient weeder-out of "cheats and chiselers" it appears to its proponents.

General assistance programs do not receive federal grants-in-aid and are not affected by requirements of Social Security Acts. Several states have at some time or another made public the lists of recipients. Results have been almost uniformly unfortunate. The state of Kansas has reported:

"We have found that, in general the deterrent effect of publication is small and where it does exist it applies largely to those who should make application for public assistance. It certainly does not deter applications from 'chiselers.' . . . We have found that the disadvantages of publication of assistance rolls are many. There is the obvious possibility of exploitation by individuals, business concerns, and political aspirants. . . . One very significant disadvantage from the administrative standpoint is the amount of administrative time that publication demands. Our experience should indicate that the most careful readers of published rolls are the recipients themselves. After every publication a heavy demand is made on administrative time to explain to individual recipients why other grants exceed their own and why their grants should not be increased to the maximum shown on the published schedule."

The nature of the confidentiality required in the Social Security Act, Miss Hoey pointed out, is often misunderstood. It does not prohibit publication of general information concerning the operations of public assistance agencies. As Commissioner Altmeyer stated in his letter to Mr. Bane: "This requirement does *not* prevent providing full information, including information relating to specific individual applicants and recipients, to law enforcement officers, auditors, federal, state, and local legislative committees and administrative bodies charged with investigating or appraising the operation of public assistance agencies." The many "revelations" of legislative investigation committees published during the past few months would seem ample proof for this statement.

Senator Jenner's amendment would not make it mandatory for states to publish records, but simply would allow those who choose to do so to continue to be eligible for federal grants-in-aid. If it is passed, states can still have confidentiality of assistance rolls if their legislatures are so convinced. On the other hand, if more states pass resolutions calling for publication of the rolls though the amendment is killed, then some change in the Social Security law to satisfy these demands will come from the next session of Congress. The ultimate decision, therefore, will not be made on Capitol Hill but on court house squares across the country. If people there do not understand the issues few Congressmen or Senators will.

Many social work organizations have been quick to make their views on the subject known to their state legislatures and to Congress. They have not found the results of this direct approach reassuring. The alternative is a more tedious job of general public education carried on in communities by interested citizens, board members, and workers in private agencies who understand the basic issues. Senator Jenner's feud with the House Ways and Means committee may give them the time required for such a campaign. Events of the past few months indicate they are going to need every minute of it.

A Social Work Tour to India

THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE OF the International Conference of Social Work has announced plans for a low-cost one month tour to India in connection with the Sixth International Conference of Social Work to be held in Madras in December 1952. Under arrangements being made with the Affiliation of Schools and Seminars for

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International Study and Training, usually known as ASSIST, the thirty-day round trip (from New York) all-expense tour may be offered for $1,295. Travel will be by air, with opportunities being offered for sight-seeing and for discussion with welfare leaders and inspection of social welfare institutions in India, Pakistan, and other Eastern countries.

The Committee is also planning to inaugurate preconference study projects early in 1952 to acquaint American social workers going to India or interested in knowing more about what is to take place there with a background in social conditions and institutions in various countries of the Far East.

Persons interested in attending the Madras Conference should communicate with the International Conference of Social Work, 22 West Gay Street, Columbus 15, Ohio.

A Report on New York's Children

A STUNNING, THOUGH IN SOME ASPECTS a somewhat mystifying report, "The Four Million," issued last month by the New York State Citizens Committee of One Hundred for Children and Youth, has been received with mixed sentiments by many New Yorkers, including a number who served on the committee itself or on one of the subcommittees that helped prepare the material on which it is based. Though there is some dissatisfaction with a few of the recommendations, particularly those on day care, and some feeling that the strong emphasis on accomplishments tends to obscure current and future needs, the report has elicited general admiration as a beautiful job of interpretation of the many community services and programs involved in helping children develop into healthy personalities.

It has also elicited concern and disappointment for its failure to mention the committee's connection with the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth and for its vagueness about follow-up plans for its own recommendations. In these omissions lies the mystery.

If the Committee of One Hundred, which was appointed by Governor Dewey in March 1950, under the chairmanship of Samuel R. Milbank, was not created in response to President Truman's invitation of the summer before to all states and territories to participate in White House Conference planning, deliberations, and follow-up, certainly many of its members and subcommittee members thought that in taking part in its work they were serving as an integral part of the Conference. If they were not able to produce a report in time for the Conference in December, they could attribute this not to their own lack of diligence but to the fact that they were first called together several months after most other state White House Conference committees were hard at work. However, they could only be surprised to find that while their report lists the more than 600 people—laymen and specialists—whose work resulted in the piles of mimeographed material on which its recommendations were based, it deprives them of identification with one of the greatest movements in behalf of children of the current century.

This oversight, deliberate or unintentional, does not, of course, detract from the report's value as the most comprehensive picture extant of what can be, is being, and ought to be done for New York's children today. In its consideration of the family, care away from home, education, physical and mental health, the handicapped, delinquents, and community planning it continuously stresses the concept that the child must be viewed as a whole—emotionally, physically, spiritually, and intellectually.

The report underscores community obligations to see that needed services are provided, and while praising New York State as a leader in nearly all the recent advances for children, brings to light many current conditions still operating to their disadvantage, particularly: widespread occurrences of family breakdown; shortages in foster homes; insufficient specialized personnel in the schools; lack of well developed and coordinated health services in upstate counties; insufficient coordination in services for the physically handicapped; insufficient information about and inadequate services for the mentally retarded; confusions in laws concerning young offenders; an inadequacy in number and diversification of institutions for delinquent youth; contradictions in the Child Labor Law and laxity in its enforcement; a need for better understanding on the part of the public of the achievements and needs of youth-serving programs. Many positive and well thought out recommendations are made for remedying these and other conditions.

But herein lies another mystery. What are the plans for follow-up? The reader can only be confused. For while the report repeatedly calls for "lay participation" and "public concern" and points to the importance of planning for follow-up action, in the introduction Mr. Milbank maintains that it is "unthinkable to keep in being a Committee with so many members, each fully occupied in his or her own work." Existing agencies, he adds, will "suffice" for the follow-up work.

Continuation of White House Conference committees has not been unthinkable in other states, many of which are already deep in follow-up programs. Granted that existing agencies—public and private—have a deep responsibility for following through to see that children's needs are met, if the Committee of One Hundred disbands, who will provide the necessary impetus, coordination and leadership to see that its work comes to the highest potential of fruitfulness? Just as a committee was essential to organize the information presented in this report, so one would seem even more essential as an instrument to follow through on its findings. So far, no word has come of any continuing committee being appointed to accept this task. But to many a concerned person in New York State it is unthinkable that this should not come about.

Insurance Benefits and Assistance Costs

CONTRARY TO THE IMPRESSION MADE by current clamors over assistance costs, public assistance caseloads have dropped throughout the country during the past year, according to a statistical analysis made recently by the Federal Security Agency. Most of the decrease is directly attributable to last year's change in the Social Security Act, particularly to the broadening in coverage and liberalization of benefits in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program. Reports from the states to the FSA show that such changes have resulted in a lowering of public assistance expenditures by approximately $6,385,000 a month for the nation as a whole.

From September 1950, when the new OASI benefits went into effect, to May 1951, old age assistance case loads fell from an aggregate of 2,809,000 to 2,754,000, most of the cases going off the rolls representing persons who had previously supplemented small insurance benefits with assistance grants. After September, when benefits were raised, about 12 percent of all such "overlap"

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cases were dropped from the rolls. In addition to OAA recipients, they included families in which OASI benefits were being supplemented with aid to dependent children and a few with aid to the blind. Prior to the changes in the act, 10 percent of all persons or families receiving OAA, 5 percent receiving ADC, and one percent receiving aid to the blind, were also OASI beneficiaries.

Part of the savings in assistance expenditures can be attributed to reductions in allowances of many who are still on the rolls but who are now receiving insurance benefits to which they were not previously eligible. About 3 percent of current OAA recipients, according to the analysis, are now getting such "new start" benefits, averaging $22.47 per month per person.

Thus, predictions that a social insurance program would eventually reduce assistance rolls at last seem to be fulfilled. But any elation this might occasion will be tempered with the realization that while OASI benefits are certainly more substantial than they were a year ago, their effectiveness in reducing assistance caseloads tells nothing of their adequacy in relation to living standards and rising costs.

In many states assistance grants have been so far from adequate that a pitifully small insurance benefit could result in eliminating a family from the rolls. A prospective boost in allowances, under proposed legislation increasing federal grants-in-aid to the states for public assistance, would result in an immediate increase in "overlap" cases and in rising assistance expenditures, as the FSA has pointed out. Obviously, any real gain in providing social security through the dignified means of insurance, rather than through uncertain and stigmatizing "relief" programs, can be made only under a stabilized economy or through a provision allowing benefits to fluctuate and thereby bear a steady relationship to living costs.

PERSONALITIES and PROJECTS

He Works in Behalf of Children

ONE OF THE MORE COLORFUL FIGURES among the younger social workers of the day is GUNNAR DYBWAD, former director of the Children's Division of the Michigan State Department of Social Welfare, who this month takes up the position of executive director of the Child Study Association, in New York. Norwegian in origin, with a German doctorate in jurisprudence and political science and a diploma from the New York School of Social Work, Mr. Dybwad is one of those professional hybrids whose knowledge of other fields and, in his case, other countries, brings enrichment and flexibility to the practice of American social work. The transition of his interest from law and political science to child welfare came by way of penology and the research which took him into penal institutions in England, Italy, and the United States. This led him to the New York State Training School for Boys at Warwick, where he spent six years as a member of the clinic staff, and hence into the study of social work.

Once in the correctional field, children became more and more the focus of this erstwhile penologist's interest, and he speaks of "systematically working my way down through the various age groups." From Warwick he went to the Boy's Vocational School of Michigan to institute casework procedures, thence to the Michigan Children's Institute as supervisor of home finding, and then, eight years ago, became head of the state Children's Division.

Being a public welfare administrator of any type almost anywhere in these United States today is in a sense like offering your face as a skeet ball target, and Gunnar Dybwad has withstood his share of heavily heaved blows from the politicians—particularly when he led a movement to reorganize the whole system of juvenile probation, detention, and parole to one more consistent with modern theories and standards. Nevertheless, when he resigned from the Children's Division in August in the hope that a vacancy would enable the social welfare commission to "pave the way" for long-needed reorganization of the "various child services," the Lansing, Michigan, *State Journal* took pains to point out that under his leadership "the Children's Division gained national recognition for the quality of its staff, the high standards of its work on behalf of children, and its efforts to achieve close cooperation among all private and public organizations in the fields of child health, welfare, and education."

With his social work roots in corrections, "Dy" Dybwad is glad to have an opportunity to turn his attention to parent education, the Child Study Association's *raison d'être* and the field he regards as holding most hope for preventing the conditions which make correctional programs necessary. He points with pride to the "home laboratory" for child study he and his wife Rosemary, a professionally retired but community-active social worker, have in their son Peter, and daughter Susan, ages 12 and 10 respectively. But he can also give professional evidence of his interest in a positive approach to the prevention of twisted lives in his eight years of activity as a board member of the Michigan Association of Mental Hygiene.

A list of Mr. Dybwad's extracurricular activities and interests is far too long for inclusion here, ranging as they do from the protection of children of migrants and Indians to a fostering of international understanding, but one at least cannot be overlooked: his authorship of the widely read and much discussed "Child Care in Germany" which appeared in the March issue of *The Survey*. Another, too irresistible to withhold, is his passion for couplets which is apt to make him answer any communication, by mail or telegram, with a timely rhyme.

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LETTERS and LIFE

MY MISSION IN ISRAEL, by James G. McDonald. Simon and Schuster. $3.50

PRESIDENT TRUMAN MADE ONE OF HIS excellent appointments when he put James G. McDonald in Tel Aviv as Minister to the Provisional Government of Israel, and then Ambassador to the new state. No career diplomat, Mr. McDonald nevertheless was well prepared to carry out this difficult assignment.

He had been the chairman of the Foreign Policy Association for fifteen years; was the League of Nations High Commissioner for German refugees (he went directly to Hitler to find out the dictator's intentions); and a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine just before the British Mandate collapsed. Although in this last capacity he at one point angered the President, he was apparently Mr. Truman's first and only choice as Ambassador to Israel, and had his unqualified support till the day he relinquished the post.

JAMES G. McDONALD

While toying with the idea of beginning a belated literary career, Mr. McDonald seems to have accepted the post with some reluctance. For the United States and Israel he made a fortunate decision—and perhaps also for his literary career!

Attractively designed and well written, his book is not, however, one for which a review can substitute for the reading. It is source material from a first hand participant in one of the significant events of modern times. Fortified with the background of a good history of Palestine, from the Christian era through the Mandate, the reader can put down Mr. McDonald's book with an understanding of the essential issues in the Near East drama.

Not a partisan presentation? Well, yes, in the sense that the author is deeply sensitive to the tragedy of Jewry and the heartlessness and culpability of much of the "Christian" world; and is sympathetic to the Jewish aspiration for a nation and a homeland. But he has a mind of his own and he is not blind to the weaknesses and failures which plague all peoples. For instance, he sees and regrets that Jewish preoccupation with their own refugees prevented a proper imaginative and humanitarian concern for the refugees of the Arab-Israeli war. Like other nations, Israel rested too easily on a policy concocted of necessity and "correctness."

When it comes to the essential issue, Mr. McDonald inspires confidence in his analysis and judgment. For one thing, he knows that there are no absolute rights in Palestine and that compromise is of the essence in Arab-Israeli dealings. He quite properly puts his finger on Arab intransigence as a fundamental problem in negotiations. With the exception of Abdullah (now no longer on the scene) all the Arab rulers have acted and continue to act as if Israel did not exist! Or again, he points out that the Bernadotte tragedy and its aftermath stem from the fact that the Arab armed attack and war in defiance of the United Nations invalidated the UN's original partition resolution.

After Israel had established its right of survival by means of desperate and costly self-defense, it was hopeless to suggest (as did the well-meaning Count) that the new state should accept a smaller territory—cutting off the Negev, the internationalization of Jerusalem, and return of Arab refugees.

The Ambassador also reveals his astuteness in showing the importance of the Israeli State for the well-being of the Near East and the rest of the world. Had the Israelis been crushed, Palestine would probably have been involved in a general war between the Arab States, with serious consequences.

Mr. McDonald was a pioneer in a pioneer country, and neither he nor the new state could depend on clear cut or consistent policies from Washington, London, the United Nations, nor anywhere else. In such a situation there was never a dull moment. Every morning threatened a new crisis. The story is, therefore, one of suspense, adventure, anxiety, and achievement. It is also full of sidelights and overtones. That Israel survives and grows stronger—making headway on many crucial domestic issues—amply supports the author's confidence in the future.

Not the least valuable parts of the book are the pen pictures on Israel's leaders, notably Weizmann, Ben-Gurion, Sharett, Golda Myerson, Yellin-Mor (Stern gang leader turned politician), and others. Likewise his stories about Ernest Bevin (a sad one), Ralph Bunche (a brilliant one), Arthur Koestler, and many others are most intriguing.

REV. JOHN PAUL JONES
The Union Church of Bay Ridge
Brooklyn, N. Y.

JOURNEY INTO LIGHT: The Story of the Education of the Blind, by Ishbel Ross. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $4

WITHIN 370 DRAMATIC, CROWDED text pages the story of the blind unrolls, from Egyptian writings on eye disease in 2650 B.C. to the present complex structure of the work for those without sight. The reader is fascinated by the achievements of the famous and nearly-famous blind down the ages. He is reminded of the millions who have suffered ignominy and neglect solely because of their lack of vision. Telling accounts are given of the sometimes powerful organizations for mutual aid, and of the special occupations dominated by the blind, which brought rewarding social and vocational status to the favored few. Tribute is paid to eighteenth century Valentin Haüy; to blind Louis Braille, chief benefactor of the blind; to most of the outstanding figures in educational and other work for those without sight since 1800. Special attention has been directed toward many successful blind people who have

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THE PRACTICE OF MARRIAGE COUNSELING

Emily Hartshorne Mudd

The director of the well known Marriage Council of Philadelphia writes this experience study and guide for professional counselors—and the thousands of teachers, preachers, social workers, and leaders who counsel more informally.

THE PRACTICE OF MARRIAGE COUNSELING furnishes comprehensive information about marriage counseling in the United States, who counsels, who uses counseling, and for what reasons. The methods, philosophy, and procedure of marriage counseling are explored — with many case histories illustrating the most typical problem areas and the processes of helping.

Dr. Mudd bases much of the book upon the actual experiences of the Philadelphia Council. To discover the clues that can help laymen and counselors, she analyzes the characteristics and problems of 2,559 men and women who came to her Council for help during the last fifteen years. She discusses the effect of current events on marriage counseling, differences and similarities of men and women clients, the process of counseling, less formalized counseling, the impact of war and mobilization. Dr. Mudd also describes fully functioning marriage counseling services maintained throughout the country, and the training and experience of their counselors.

Appendices include the material practically required in implementing the setting up and functioning of professional marriage counseling services and the referral of persons to them. A full bibliography covering all aspects of marriage counseling is included.

SPECIAL

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concerned themselves actively with the welfare of their fellows.

The biographical technique employed by Miss Ross is literarily effective in most of her chapters. In those covering the developments of the last fifty years, however, the pattern is sometimes seriously warped. Striking errors of omission distort the facts. There are also a few errors of commission which could have been avoided easily if the manuscript had been critically read before publication by one or more informed students of the general field. There is a confusion of 20/200 vision with 10 percent vision. Infant blindness, instead of being on the decrease as one is led to believe here, is actually on the increase, due chiefly to a little understood eye condition not even mentioned —retrolental fibroplasia. Much important experimental work which played a role in advancing educational procedures in schools and classes for the blind is entirely overlooked. And so on.

So good a writer and reporter as Miss Ross could produce a major reference book on the history of the blind which could also be reasonably successful commercially. Such a book would be welcome.

KATHRYN E. MAXFIELD, PH. D.
Consulting Psychologist, New York

INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS: Their Purposes, Methods, and Accomplishments, by Lyman C. White, assisted by Marie Ragonetti Zocca. Rutgers University Press. $5

WORKERS FOR PEACE ARE TOO PREoccupied with war, says the author; instead, they should strengthen that real world unity which stems from sharing interests and from functioning together in common tasks. Having written "The Structure of Private International Organizations" in 1933 and having dealt since 1946 as a member of the UN Secretariat with international non-governmental organizations (INGO's), he is well qualified to present a comprehensive picture of the many achievements of INGO's as agents of international understanding, as molders of public opinion, and as pressure groups. Mr. White deals with a subject on which little research has been done—he stresses the need for such research—and like other UN officials is overly conscious of the many corporate and individual toes on which he must not step. Within these limitations his book makes a valuable contribution to our thinking about peace.

Among the many INGO's the author lists is the International Chamber of Commerce which worked toward abolition of trade barriers, helped establish a Court of Arbitration, maintained reasonable telegraph rates, stabilized currencies, and was effective in such widely varied fields as insurance of international air transport personnel and fair taxation on international traffic. Many of the professional INGO's, such as the Permanent Committee of the International Conferences on Social Work, consider free and frequent interchange of views between members of the profession their main goal. Other INGO's, such as the Central Organization for a Durable Peace, or the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom may have directly influenced international politics: the former in establishing principles similar to Wilson's fourteen points, the latter in bringing about, among many other things, the Nye inquiry of 1934. The Inter-Allied Federation of Ex-Service Men in the twenties and thirties was given official recognition for its splendid work toward an improvement of Italian-Yugoslav and Italian-French relations. Many important international governmental organizations would never have come into being without groundwork laid by INGO's; others profited from the INGO's advice and help. None can exist without the support of men and women of common interest, organized beyond national boundaries.

Mr. White has chosen to bring his comprehensive survey only up to the year 1939, and to devote only a few pages to the INGO's contributions to the UN. However, he has promised another book covering World War II and the present period, which he optimistically defines as the era of reconstruction.

HANS W. ROSENHAUPT
Columbia University, New York

HUMAN FERTILITY, by Robert C. Cook. William Sloane Associates. $4.50

"HUMAN FERTILITY" IS CERTAINLY one of the liveliest books on population to appear in the United States. It is animated by a passion for science as a chart of the possible paths of human destiny. The chart in the area of population trends, as interpreted in this text, reveals hidden shoals on which civilization, if its course is not quickly reset, will soon founder. Most of those who now seek to guide the ships of state refuse to read the chart or, intimidated by the organized power of irrational ideologies, fear to follow its directives. In this picture, the American

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and the Russian governments are presented as similarly unrealistic, and General MacArthur as an opportunist. The historic record of the struggle of science against dogma and inertia is reviewed to show that such conflict is perpetual, with science emerging triumphant only after long lags. In this case, the author contends, society cannot afford the lag.

The treatment brings into focus a wide range of scientific findings from the fields of population study and human genetics, painted on a broad canvas with quick strokes. The author has a sincere devotion to truth, and at critical points he seeks to take account of conflicting opinions. But the sense of mission, the zest, and the scope of the treatment, make painstaking accuracy scarcely possible. In the opinion of this reviewer, the major shoals described are real, though the tempo of society's approach to disaster may be somewhat exaggerated. But some of the minor theses, such as the repetition of Walker's theory that immigration or emigration is automatically offset by changes in natural increase, are dubious if not palpably fallacious. However, it is the author's intention to stimulate critical intelligence. The critical reader will acquire much exciting and significant information.

One of the best features of this book is its interpretation of eugenics in terms of the multi-factor inheritance of vital human characteristics, with attention to the complex interaction of heredity and environment. It provides a clear, direct exposition of the social implications of recent progress in human genetics. Attention is also directed to neglected areas of study in which more intensive research may yield momentous results, such as further studies of twins, and research on new types of contraception.

The social control of population, it is recognized, must be indirect, through "social inventions" acting on "forces under social control" which affect birth and survival rates. The specific treatment of sociological problems in this field is less satisfactory to this reviewer than the preceding analysis of demographic and genetic trends. Inadequate attention is given to the problem of motivation in progress toward control of population in undeveloped areas, or in the reduction of fertility among handicapped groups in an industrial society. Again, it is necessary to repeat that the intention of the author was not to give final answers, but to stimulate the reader's critical intelligence. The book presents a challenge that cannot be ignored. It merits becoming the subject of vigorous controversy.

FRANK LORIMER
Department of Sociology
The American University, Washington

THE STRUCTURE OF LABOR MARKETS, by Lloyd G. Reynolds. Harper. $4.50

PROFESSOR REYNOLDS REPORTS THE results of a local labor market investigation extending over a period of three years in an industrial community in New England. A preview of the findings was published in 1949 under the title, "Job Horizons," by Lloyd G. Reynolds and Joseph Shister. This more recent report contains considerably more material and in certain respects modifies the earlier conclusions. It makes a valuable contribution to the increasing volume of studies designed to shift the examination of the economics of the labor market from the mechanics of equilibrium theory to the realities of job getting and the movement of labor in the market.

The main focus of the book is the attempt to analyze wages and labor mobility within the same framework and to raise pertinent questions as to the relations between them. The data on which the study is based are derived from interviews on job histories with 800 workers, from management interviews, and from general statistical sources. The first section contains a detailed analysis of this material. It is presented in chapters dealing with patterns of labor mobility, determinants of interplant movement and worker attitudes and behavior with regard to such movement, occupational shifting, and plant and area wage patterns and movements. The second section is concerned with the implications of the findings for general labor market theory, and suggests the need for revising much of the thinking about labor market forces.

Professor Reynolds has done a very skillful writing job. While a considerable amount of detail of the field investigation is included, the tedium often accompanying such reports is absent. Throughout the book the reader is made aware of the fact that the study covers one group of workers at one time and place, but the wider scope of the specific issues is emphasized constantly. He spends little space on direct flogging of the "dead horse of the perfect labor market." While recognizing that competitive forces may influence wages and labor mobility, his concern is with the

(Continued on page 400)

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(continued on next page)

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THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION, Campbell B. Beard, Executive-Secretary, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is the professional organization for counselors and others engaged and interested in vocational guidance and the publishers of OCCUPATIONS, the Vocational Guidance Journal.

THE OSBORNE ASSOCIATION, INC., 114 East 30th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone MUrrayhill 5-9720-9721. Activities:—Collects information about correctional institutions and works to improve correctional methods and standards. Aids released prisoners in their problems of readjustment by securing employment and giving such other assistance as they may require. Austin H. MacCormick, Exec. Dir.; Robt. R. Hannum, Dir. of Vocational Placement.

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(Continued from page 397)

more realistic aspects of wage movements and job procurement and the need for a labor market theory which reflects these conditions.

LOIS MACDONALD
Department of Economics
New York University

I TOOK IT LYING DOWN, by Marian Spitzer. Random House. $2.75

WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU WERE ordered to bed for a solid year? Marian Spitzer, dynamic, intense, restless, introduces us to a new dimension in living, to a world of suspended animation where reaching for the forbidden telephone involves the planning of the perfect crime, and sitting up, the energy output of a climb up Mt. Everest. For our summer reading in an age when atom bomb drills comprise our setting-up exercises, here is a nice chatty account of a bout with the dread tubercle bacillus.

The author, a magazine writer and Hollywood editor, gives her sense of dramatics full play in this account of her illness. Actually, between the consciously courageous and humorous lines, there is a detailed, intelligent report on modern methods in the treatment of tuberculosis, together with much needed light on the important psychological reactions of the patient and her family during the slow process of healing. Anyone who, like Marian Spitzer, can maintain two maids and a nurse for a year-long illness may well regard this as a handbook for home care: "To cease to rebel and struggle . . . to learn to be content with part of a loaf when one cannot have a whole loaf . . . is a good philosophy for the tuberculous invalid. . . ."

By what caterpillar stages the author came to terms with the findings of the great Dr. Trudeau comprises the major part of this intimate story. Marian Spitzer is a sincere and articulate craftsman and in that chapter where, convalescent, she comes East and rediscovers a city she thought she had lost forever, there is an endearing radiance in her writing.

This book is delicately balanced between let-your-hair-down confession and sound case history. The reader will learn a great deal about collapsed lungs, pneumo-thorax injections, and the advantage of not burning the candle at both ends.

Included in the book is an interesting appendix on the history of tuberculosis, the scientists who have worked to defeat it, and the methods and drugs used today. And, if you must emulate Marian Spitzer, there is a comprehensive list of titles for your Valley of Shadow reading.

Brooklyn, New York STELLA KORBRIN

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DIRECTORY OF ORGANIZATIONS

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ASSOCIATION FOR FAMILY LIVING, THE. Resource in child guidance, marriage, and family relations. Speakers, counseling, library and materials in youth and parent education. 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

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